The development of musical education in the public schools from 1840 to the present day

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ABSTRACT

This thesis takes as its definition of a public school one whose headmaster is a member of 'The Headmasters' Conference' (HMC). An attempt is made to discover the influences on the development of the subject, and some description of the methods of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century public school musicians takes place. Aims, objectives and justifications, as far as they can be ascertained, of headmasters and directors of music for musical education in the public schools are assessed along with the role played by the subject in projecting the schools' image.

Because it is a predominantly boarding education that is being portrayed there is much discussion of the function of extra-curricular activities, some of which are described in detail. A whole chapter is devoted to vocal music, tracing the development of chapel music, choral societies, school songs and unison singing. Another charts the evolution of instrumental music and the final chapter evaluates the place which music has taken in the curriculum, especially at the present time.

Some comparison is made with the provision for music in the elementary schools during the nineteenth century and with the secondary schools this century. Although there is no attempt to prove that one system of musical education is better than another, the thesis shows how each has had an influence upon the other. There is also some discussion of the development of music in the preparatory schools and the effects this has had upon public school music.

It is intended that the thesis should be useful to those interested in the history of education, and more specifically the public school ethos, as well as musical educators. The thesis is therefore descriptive and analytical of developments and hopes to furnish the reader with an accurate picture of public school music.

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INTRODUCTION

Although a considerable amount of literature exists relating to the evolution of the public schools over the last century and a half, and though certain peculiar phenomena of this system of education have been the subject of books and research, I have found no evidence of any detailed general survey of the advancement of music in these establishments over this period. As might be expected, much of the documentary evidence for this thesis is taken from the histories of individual schools, but those written before the turn of the century make scant mention of music. Maxwell Lyte's 'History of Eton College', written in 1875, makes no mention of music and W.H.D.Rouse's 'History of Rugby School' (1898), devotes one paragraph to the subject. However, Howson and Warner's 'Harrow School', also published in 1898 gives much more detailed information and devotes a whole chapter to the "School Songs and Mr.Farmer". Since then the subject has been given increasing prominence with sometimes whole chapters devoted to its study. This can be taken as both an indication of the growing status of the subject throughout this century and increased activity.

Such was the interest being shown in the pioneering work of public school musicians in the early decades of the twentieth century that a number of articles

appeared in both musical and educational journals. Three former directors of music, Napoleon Parker, Rev.A.H.Peppin and John W.Ivimey, wrote accounts of the status of music in their schools during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which are obviously of considerable interest to a public school historian.

Much of the twentieth century in the public schools has been concerned with the development and consolidation of the work of these pioneers. After the First World War more interest was being shown in the musical provision in the state schools than in the public schools and so fewer articles concerned with public school music were published. It is for these reasons that the reader will find a greater concentration on material written about public school music before the First World War than after it.

Since the early 1970s headmasters of public schools have been anxious to create a new image of their schools and prefer to term them 'Independent Schools'. I have chosen to use the term 'Public School' in my title as it thereby limits the schools in the survey to what is in fact only a proportion of the independent sector. I shall use the now generally accepted definition of what constitutes a 'Public School' as one whose headmaster is a member of the 'Headmasters Conference' (HMC).

One of the greatest difficulties in making any generalisations about the public schools is their variety. There are just over 200 schools whose headmasters are members of HMC. They range in size from around 300 to about 2,000. The age at which a child may enter the school varies, but at secondary level it will normally be at either eleven or thirteen. Schools may also be entirely boarding, or entirely day or a mixture, with the proportions varying greatly. However when using the term 'Public School' I will, unless specified, be referring to a predominantly boarding school whose main entry is at age thirteen.

In the last three decades an increasing number of public schools have accepted girls, some have gone entirely co-educational, whilst in other schools girls are in a minority and some only accept them into the sixth form. Boys still form the large majority of pupils in HMC schools and for much of this survey there were few girls in them; it should therefore not be viewed as sexist when I refer to 'boys' or 'masters' only.

I have chosen the date 1840 to begin the survey as it was then that the main thrust for the founding of new schools started. Public schools which date from this decade include: Cheltenham College (1841), Marlborough (1843), Rossall (1844), Brighton (1845), Radley (1847),

Lancing (1848) and Hurstpierpoint (1849). All anglican foundations, which, coupled with the increasing interest in forms of worship and the role of the school chapel, led to greater musical provision in the public schools. The years between 1840 and 1870 were to be the 'high-water' mark for new foundations of public schools and it was also during these years that many old 'Endowed Grammar Schools', such as Repton, Uppingham and Oundle, were revitalized and became ranked among the list of public schools. Beginning the survey in 1840 also allows for an examination and comparison of musical provision in the 'Nine "Great" Public Schools' prior to their being the subject of a Royal Commission in 1864.

Some comparison with the maintained sector is both necessary and unavoidable. As Keith Swanwick says in his book 'Discovering Music' (1982):

> "In Britain we inherit two traditions of Music education, especially in secondary schools. The first of these derives from the private school system and essentially sees the music educator as 'Director of Music' who runs the band, choir and orchestra, who manages the chapel choir and organises individual instrumental teaching. The second tradition stems from the state school concept of the class lesson where music is treated like any other 'subject' with allocated slots of large-class time for general music education."
>
> (1)

The aim of this thesis is not to set out to prove that one system is better than the other, but I hope

that it will show that each has much to learn from the other and any findings I have made may be of some interest in the current educational debate. If not an impossible task it is far beyond the limited scope of this study to conclude that one group of children is musically better educated than another. How we could validate such a conclusion and what criteria we could use in the validation would in itself involve a lengthy period of original research.

On this matter I share Charles Plummeridge's view that:

> "Whatever it is that children are doing in their music lessons it is surely the quality of their experiences that is the first priority. And if diversity ensures quality this can be no bad thing." (2)

It is my contention that musical education has developed in the public school since 1840 and is still developing. I believe that there have been five main periods of development. Broadly speaking these are: First Period 1840 - 1860; Second Period 1860 - 1900; Third Period 1900 - 1945; Fourth Period 1945 - 1980; Fifth Period 1980 to the present day. I shall try to make it clear, where appropriate, what I consider to be the main influences during these periods on public school music.

It is also one of my aims to prove that most public school musicians have been and are aware of their educational obligations and have usually been willing to employ those methods which they find most effective in their own environment. As John Cullen said in his Presidential Address to the Music Masters' Association in June 1977:

> "I think it is easier for us who work in the independent schools to adapt our teaching to the environment than is the case in many other schools in the country."
>
> (3)

A music teacher, whether in an independent or maintained school, is constantly having to defend the subject, both in and outside the curriculum. Reasoning and debating with colleagues in other subjects or spheres, who are themselves possibly fighting for more time for examination work or games practices, can often be extremely difficult without the support of a sympathetic headmaster. In a public school, though there may be much discussion, the headmaster, at this moment, can dictate the curriculum. It will therefore be important that we try to uncover not only the public school music masters' views on music education but also those of the headmasters and their attitude towards the subject.

Marian Metcalfe, writing in 'The Arts in Education' in 1987, identified three main categories which

educators and philosophers have used as a justification for teaching music in schools:

> "the training of the mind, or impressive reasons;
> the training of the emotions, or expressive reasons;
> and the training of behaviour, social reasons."
> (My own underlinings).
> (4)

As I shall be referring to these three categories during my thesis, it is worth quoting in full Metcalfe's own definition of them:

> "The impressive category includes such justifications for music as teaching mental discipline, the widening of general knowledge, an understanding of the nature of culture and cultural difference, the transmission of the cultural heritage, and the teaching of useful vocational skills such as flexibility, adaptability, motor ability, decision-making, inventiveness and so on. The expressive justifications refer largely to the channelling of emotional or creative energy into the medium of sound for the development of aesthetic pleasure and personal growth. The social reasons, subtly expressed though they may be, include a variety of pupil-behaviour modifications such as release of emotions considered to be dangerous or subversive, learning the skills of working together towards a goal, being inculcated with a spirit of unity, patriotism, social cohesion, or whatever corporate values are considered desirable - music, one might say, conceived as a form of social engineering."
> (5)

The justifications for music in public schools by both headmasters and directors of music have often been difficult to identify and have been more implicit than explicit. Throughout the period of this study there has been both a revising and a broadening of the

justifications in these schools which I perceive as being further evidence that musical education has developed. At the start of this period of study, music in public schools was justified for its 'social reasons', but as the century progressed greater interest was being shown in the 'impressive reasons' and now the emphasis is on the 'expressive reasons', whilst not abandoning any of the others. The gradual assimilation by the schools of all these justifications has, in my view, considerably benefitted the public school pupil and the ethos of the schools. The greater interest now being shown in the arts is giving a much more balanced education and the creative and feeling side of the pupils' development is not being ignored.

When I embarked upon this study two years ago I had little idea of the immensity of the topic I had undertaken. Many of the issues such as school songs, chapel music, the influence of public school musicians and the role of music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well as other aspects, are worthy of their own separate consideration and because of both time and limited space I have not been able to elaborate upon them as much as I would have wished.

A considerable amount of the thesis is descriptive and I hope will be of use to public school

historians, but I have also tried to be analytical and indicate how music fitted in with the educational thinking of the time and the ethos of the school. Many of the opinions expressed upon the recent developments in public school music are subjective and represent my own experience of working in five schools within the independent sector over the last eighteen years, as well as an intimate acquaintance with many other schools.

One fact I would wish the reader of this thesis to bear constantly in mind is that we are essentially considering a boarding school education. Therefore the fact that pupils live at school must affect the structure of the day and influence the curriculum.

Introduction - References

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3. John Cullen, 'Partners in excellence', Conference and Common Room, (Volume 15, No.2, June 1978), p.11.
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5. ibid.

CHAPTER ONE

THE AGE OF REFORM

The opening decades of the nineteenth century found public schools in England in a lamentable condition. The curriculum was narrowly restricted to the study of the classics, boarding conditions were deplorable, with boys left to their own devices for long periods of time without adult supervision and the moral tone of these establishments was reprehensible. As for music, its study was regarded as being "unworthy of the serious attention of a gentleman".(1) Available to their daughters as an acknowledged accomplishment, music tuition was not provided in the public schools before the 1830s.

Although John Locke was writing in 1693, the attitudes of the public schools towards music in the early part of the nineteenth century could perhaps be summed up by this philosopher:

> " . . it wastes so much of a young man's time to gain but a moderate skill in it, and engages often in such odd company that many think it much better spared; and I have amongst men of parts and business so seldom heard anyone commended and esteemed for having an excellency in music, that amongst all those things that ever came into the list of accomplishments I think I may give it the last place."
>
> (2)

This same passage was to be quoted by Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his son in 1749 and further helps demonstrate that musical education in this country was probably at its lowest point during the eighteenth century.

Regarded by most English gentlemen in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century as

> "the preserve of foreigners, it was unsuitable in the education of a nobleman." (3)

At Eton in 1756

> "it was contrary to the rules for any boy on the Foundation to use any musical instruments." (4)

One boy at this time, Joah Bates, was so deprived of an instrument that he had

> "no other means of practising than by playing imaginary keys on the table." (5)

Charles Burney, writing in his 'General History of Music' of 1776, on the other hand believed it to be

> "an innocent luxury, unnecessary, indeed, to our existence, but a great improvement and gratification of the sense of hearing." (6)

The Church and the Aristocracy, who had

historically been the two great patrons of music had ceased to be so in England by the turn of the nineteenth century. The position of Master of the King's Music or Queen's Music was, after George IV, awarded to musicians of poor quality and the office of organist of the Chapel Royal became a sinecure. Before any change in attitudes towards music could take place there needed to be a new atmosphere in English society as a whole.

Many political and educational reforms and religious movements, all of which were ultimately to have an affect on the musical life of this country, began in the 1830s. These included the 'Great Reform Act' of 1832 which raised the status of the middle-classes, the awarding of the first Parliamentary grant towards education in 1833 and the many religious revivals which included both the Anglican Evangelical movement and the 'Oxford' or 'Tractarian' movement. The 'Oxford' movement is always regarded as beginning in 1833 when John Keble preached his sermon on 'National apostasy' at the university church, Oxford. Although these 'low church' and 'high church' parties had differing views on certain matters, they were both concerned to enhance the conduct of the liturgy and it was here that their influence on music was so important.

The 1830s as Temperley observed, were, coincidentally, musically probably 'the most dynamic

decade' in modern British history.(7) Music societies were founded, journals were published for the first time and important musical educational treatises written. Chamber concerts, solo recitals, as well as the opera and orchestral concerts were becoming increasingly popular as the rising middle-classes and 'nouveau riche bourgeoisie' emulated the aristocracy of previous generations and provided greater demand for cultural activity. Coupled with this came the development of amateur choral societies and a much greater interest in vocal music which in turn created a market for cheap choral publications accessible to all. Thus the widespread changes that were affecting the political, social and economic life of the country were to be reflected in the resurgence of interest in music; but these now came from below rather than above.

Before returning to the public schools it is necessary that we should look at the provision for musical education outside them. There was virtually no music teaching taking place in any school during the eighteenth century, apart from a few isolated instances where a schoolmaster, or mistress, was sufficiently interested to teach some singing by rote. Therefore a child at that time had to rely on private instrumental teaching which was supposed at the same time to teach the student how to sing:

"Singing follows so naturally the smallest degree of proficiency on any instrument, that the learning of both is unnecessary."

(8)

It was not until the 1830s and 1840s that educationalists first urged the introduction of music into the elementary school curriculum. In 1833 the first English treatise specifically concerned with the teaching of music in schools, John Turner's 'Manual of instruction in vocal music', was published. This was followed two years later by Sarah Glover's 'Scheme to render Psalmody congregational' and in 1836 William Hickson's 'Singing Master'.

Also, in 1833 the first Parliamentary Grant towards elementary education resulted in the formation of a special committee to administer the fund. The secretary of this committee, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was to have a profound influence on the course of English musical education. Dr.Kay, as he was then, was keen to have vocal music included in the school curriculum and in 1840 appointed John Hullah to lecture at his new Teacher Training College at Battersea. The teaching was to be based on Guillaume Wilhem's method which Dr.Kay claimed would teach pupils

"to read music with ease, and to sing with skill and expression even difficult music at sight."

(9)

So successful was Hullah that it was estimated that by the end of 1841 at least 50,000 working class children in London were being taught to sing at school by Hullah's pupils.(10) Encouraged by this, Hullah instituted classes for adults and so the 'sight-singing movement' was born in London and, carried by Hullah's disciples, quickly spread to other parts of Britain.

The emphasis from the 1830s onwards was to be on vocal music which was seen as being teachable to most children. Of the three early musical treatises mentioned earlier, two were obviously written with congregational singing in mind. John Turner's method was published with the support of the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' and bore the subtitle 'Chiefly with a view to Psalmody'. The title of Sarah Glover's method 'Scheme to render Psalmody Congregational' is self-explanatory. Only Hickson's work had no religious foundation, being the first book

> "to bring regular singing into our Elementary schools" (11)

and was written

> "as the contribution of an individual to the cause of national education." (12)

But music was not particularly to be taught

because of its own intrinsic qualities but because it was seen as a panacea by 'philanthropists, temperance workers, the clergy and politicians' for all that was wrong in society.(13) Whatever the differences in method the philosophy behind their composition was the same. For example, Turner claimed that

> "music would be found to exert a distinctly civilising influence upon the youth of the working classes,"
>
> (14)

and Hickson thought that music had

> "a tendency to wean the mind from vicious and sensual indulgences; and, if properly directed, it has a tendency to incline the heart to kindly feelings, and just and generous emotions."
>
> (15)

Teachers agreed with these sentiments and testified

> "that the cultivation of vocal music in elementary schools tends to refine the manners of the children, to develop their affections, and to elevate their thoughts; that it improves the order of the schools while it diminishes the rigour of the discipline."
>
> (16)

It can therefore be seen that it was not the music that was important but the moralising and uplifting words that the songs conveyed which were pre-eminent.

I make no apology for having dwelt at some length

on the growth of music and musical education in the early part of the nineteenth century outside the public schools. It is against this background that we can measure the influences upon musical provision within the public schools, in particular regarding singing lessons, and some of the differences in attitudes and philosophies between the two sectors of education which continued throughout the century and into the twentieth century.

As has already been mentioned in the introduction, the middle decades of the nineteenth century were to see a growth in the number of public schools founded and re-founded which has not been surpassed. The rising wealthy middle-classes wished their sons to become gentlemen and mix with the nobility. A good education was seen as the way to achieve this end. Ogilvie is of the opinion that the

> "possessors of the new wealth wanted schools that could provide three things (i) A sound intellectual education: good academic standards. (ii) A good moral tone. (iii) An opportunity for their boys to be brought up on equal terms with those whose wealth was of longer standing."
>
> (17)

All of which reflected the spirit of the 'Age of Reform'.

It was the new schools, rather than the nine 'Great' Public Schools of England (see page 24), which first made provision for music. The influence of the

religious revivals, already mentioned, stimulated the development of musical education in the public schools as the following accounts show.

Cheltenham, founded in 1841, employed no musician until 1858 when the chapel was opened and an organist was appointed. Marlborough's chapel was completed five years after the foundation of the college in 1843 and the first organist - Whitehead Smith - was then appointed.

> "He formed a choir and a Musical Society, which gave a concert once a year in the Christmas Term."
>
> (18)

From its foundation in 1844 Rossall employed W.H.Gratton, organist of Fleetwood Parish Church then Greaves, organist of Preston Parish Church. But by 1860 the headmaster had obviously become so aware of the need for someone full-time that he asked the new professor of music at Cambridge, Sterndale Bennett, to recommend someone for the post of music master. The professor 'recommended Herr Stange' who was also to teach all the German. In 1862 he was succeeded by Charles Handel Tovey.

> "These two men mark the beginning of some serious musical instruction."
>
> (19)

At Radley in 1847 the

> "constitution of the college stated that the Fellows as well as the scholars were to learn music."
> (20)

Edwin George Monk, later to be appointed organist of York Minster, was appointed Precentor. Full morning and evening services were attended every day by the boys and soon cathedral type services were being sung.

That music was taken very seriously at Radley can be corroborated from an extract from E.Bryan's 'History of St.Peter's College, Radley':

> "...great prominence was given to the practice of music, especially of singing. In the early days part of every evening in the week was devoted to a general practice, and it seems that no one, whatever the condition of his voice, or capability of ear, was exempt from 'singing class.' There were anthems in Chapel on two evenings in the week, besides Sunday, and elaborate services. One of the chief interests of the boys, says an ancient Radleian was, what anthem and what service was to be sung on the next Sunday".
> (21)

The founder of Bradfield, Rev.Thomas Stevens, also wished to have

> "full Cathedral Services like those in a Cathedral."
> (22)

Mr.R.L.Binfield was appointed organist and choirmaster at the school's foundation in 1850. Such was the emphasis that

was being laid upon music that in October 1853 a complaint was received that so much attention was being paid to the religious and musical education of the boys that

> "secular learning was in danger of being neglected." (23)

Nathaniel Woodard, who in the middle of the nineteenth century founded a group of schools on Tractarian lines, although a lover of music, was dogmatic in his views on church music. He abhorred Victorian and elaborate church music and allowed only plainsong to be sung in the chapels of Lancing (1848) and Hurstpierpoint (1849).

No full-time musician was appointed at Lancing and the organ was played by Mrs.Wilson and then by W.K.Hilton;

> "until at the beginning of 1865 Sanderson appointed the Rev.W.Russell Mus.Bac., of Oxford, to organize the music with great efficiency." (24)

In 1853 Edward Thring went to Uppingham to take over a school of twenty-five boarders and six day boys. By 1859 there were five assistant masters and five extras as well as Thring and Earle. Before Thring appointed Paul David, who was to have a substantial influence on the course of public school music, as 'Music choir master', there had been six other musicians appointed by him: Herr

Schafer (1855), Herr.C.Reimers - also art master (1856), M.Lavoyer (1856), Herr Riccius (1857), G.H.C.Beisiegel - also gymnasium instructor (1860) and Rev.O.R.Wintle (1862).

Pears who took over Repton in 1854, had a very deep interest in music, especially church music, and whilst at Harrow had published a pamphlet entitled 'The Protestant theory of Church music'. There was no organ in chapel and the services were all unaccompanied,

> "though the whole school was expected to sing the hymns and Canticles, . . the choir sang them not in unison but in four parts."
>
> (25)

He took full charge of the chapel music and rehearsed the chapel choir once a week. Not until 1875 did Pears appoint a full-time master to take charge of the music, T.Price, though L.J.Day had come over from Derby to look after the music until Price's appointment.

Outside the chapel only a few schools made any provision for music either as a subject within the curriculum or as an activity. The boys at Repton usually spent from twenty-six to thirty hours a week in the classroom with at least two-thirds of the time being taken up by the study of classics and their related subjects. Apart from mathematics there were possible options including 'French, German, Italian, Fencing, Drill, Natural Philosophy, Music and Dancing'(24), but these were 'extras'

and to be regarded as such.

Only Bradfield seems at this time to have regarded music as an

"essential part of the curriculum." (27)

Dulwich added vocal music (Hullah's system) to its curriculum in 1836 and Wellington College (1853) appointed among its first masters Mr.George Bishop to teach writing and music, though

"music was not his strong point." (28)

A small number of schools in the middle decades of the century seem to have had their own band. Stonyhurst's brass band was

> "first instituted in September 1836, . . . at one time having a "fife and drum" department and at another a division called the "Little Band" for the less proficient." (29)

At Radley the boys took the initiative and wanted to start a brass band; this proved to be so successful that within a term a string band was also started. Within a few years of its foundation the headmaster, Rev.R.C.Singleton, was to write:

"The band is turning out quite the tool
of education that I designed it to be."

(30)

Rossall formed a brass and drum and fife band which performed the first time in 1862 under their bandmaster Mr.Norwood from Preston. What the standard was like we can only surmise from a soliloquy written by a member of common room, the Rev.E.Sleap:

"When I think of my own native land,
and dream that the French might come here,
I'd place all my hopes on the band,
if the foe had a musical ear."

(31)

However the band must have improved for in 1870 the band played throughout a Ball held in the dining hall from 1.00 to 4.00 am.

A few schools had formed music societies, Marlborough's possibly being the first in 1848, and so concerts took place, though usually only once a year on Speech Day or at the end of the two winter terms. If instrumental tuition was available at all it was usually confined to the piano, organ or violin. Music schools did not exist and the music master would probably teach in his private house. It was six years after the founding of Radley in 1847 that the College introduced piano lessons, and by the end of that year the Precentor, Edwin Monk, had twenty private pupils.

Thus we can see that before the 1860s it was those schools founded in the nineteenth century with strong anglican affiliations that were making the strongest moves to bring music into the public schools. The 'Oxford' movement with its desire for greater decorum in the services started the vogue for surpliced choirs, but non-Tractarian foundations, such as Rossall, Cheltenham and Marlborough, also wished to have chapel choirs.

So far I have confined my discussion of the provision of music to those newly founded or re-established public schools which were not included amongst the nine 'Great' Public Schools of England. In 1861 Lord Palmerston's Government set up a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Clarendon, to investigate the state of these 'Great' Schools: Eton, Winchester, Charterhouse, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Harrow, Rugby, Merchant Taylor's and St.Paul's. Included in their terms of reference was the following:

> "to inquire into the System and Course of Studies respectively pursued therein, as well as into the Methods, Subjects and Extent of the Instruction given to the Students of the said Colleges, Schools and Foundations."
>
> (32)

The results of their enquiry were published as the 'Public Schools Commission' in 1864.

The evidence given to the Commission is of

crucial importance in determining the state of music in the 'Great' public schools during the first half of the century. The recommendations of the Commission serve to show how attitudes to the subject were changing in the middle of the century outside the public schools, if only slowly:

> "Strange that what was deemed a grace, a gift and a necessity, in ages which we call barbarous, should be neglected in times which boast of their enlightenment!"
>
> (33)

In their general recommendations for the 'nine' public schools, the Commission stated that:

> "The pupils, besides being scientifically instructed in music, should daily take part in a choral service . . . Music in these schools would often be a softening and purifying power."
>
> (34)

They were further of the opinion that music or drawing should not be provided as an 'extra', but as part of the regular curriculum taught by a resident music master during school hours.

Of the nine schools investigated by the Commissioners, only Charterhouse claimed to include music in its curriculum, but as an extra, at a cost of two guineas per annum.

"From the year 1842 Mr.Hullah has regularly attended, and we have, I think, every reason for being satisfied with the progress made by the boys in this subject. The average number of boys attending the singing class is between forty and fifty."

(35)

Hullah attended twice a week for an hour at a time and, with an assistant, taught two classes in part-singing. He was also invited to take singing classes at Eton, Winchester and Merchant Taylors', but with little success. Hullah started classes at Winchester in 1842. At first all went well and the second master of Winchester, Rev.Charles Wordsworth wrote:

"Up, down, right, and left! 'tis but poor fun, I tell ye,
For me all the while to be beat to jelly,
So I'll leave Mr.Hullah in Wykeham's old hall,
To teach the boys music in no time at all."

(36)

But soon

"the boys became increasingly unwilling to devote any of their spare time to singing,"

(37)

and so after a few years the classes ceased.

Hullah had little success at Eton. Three years after he began lecturing at Battersea in 1840, he had tried his system at Eton but Hawtrey told the Commission that

"there was so much laborious effort required in learning the intervals that many of the pupils fell off."

(38)

The final straw came when only one boy attended the class as it was the

> "day of the annual cricket match between the collegers and the oppidans. . . . Hullah said that he would never come to the school to teach again unless it was made obligatory."
>
> (39)

Until the inclusion of mathematics in 1851 the curriculum at Eton had been entirely classical. Extra subjects, which included music, could be taken in the boys' free time. But as Howard Staunton reported in his book 'The Great Schools of England', written in 1865 the year after the publication of the Commission's report,

> "as these accomplishments are not obligatory, and form no part of the passport to academical distinctions, the great mass of boys leave without having acquired any of them."
>
> (40)

Two interested assistant masters, Mr.Snow and Mr.Cornish, held private music classes which were usually attended by a dozen or so interested boys; until 1858 Sir Joseph Barnby's elder brother, who was a lay clerk at St.George's Windsor, took a class of about twenty-five to thirty boys

> "to teach any of the scholars who manifest a taste for music and are able to sing."
>
> (41)

Amongst the Eton boys at this time was the composer C.H.H.Parry, who along with two other boys, Edward

Hamilton and Spencer Luttleton, formed a music society. In 1863 John Foster was invited by the boys to become conductor of the newly organized Musical Society and from 1864 to 1867 his name appears in the school list as "music master". But at this time it was Parry who was the

> "centre of everything musical at Eton" (42)

It was with great difficulty that Parry persuaded his father to let him take harmony lessons with Dr.Elvey, organist of Windsor, as his father

> "had the strong prejudice common in those days against anyone going in seriously for music." (43)

However, at the age of eighteen, and whilst a member of the college, Parry took and passed the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford.

The Commissioners recommended that the younger boys at Eton should have drawing or music added to their present course of studies. However they considered that after the fifth form

> "any boy in the upper school should have the opportunity of learning music or drawing for two hours a week, and that a certain number of them should be obliged to learn." (44)

The Commissioners obviously saw Eton as a

religious foundation and though they were interested in the musical education of the boys they paid particular attention to the chapel choir. At that time Eton had no distinct choir of its own but shared the choir with the Chapel of St.George's Windsor. As St.George's had a prior claim on the choir, Eton held a choral service on a Sunday afternoon at 3.00 pm and on Saints' days, and the eves of Saints' days in the evening. The choir members did not attend lessons at the college, but were taught separately at Windsor by one of the Lay Clerks - Mr.Bransome. In order that there should be some choral music in the chapel services at Eton, a dozen 'charity children' from a 'Parochial School' were formed into a choir and they were taught to sing a 'simple psalm tune'.(45) It would seem that only the lower classes could be taught to sing and it was not desirable that a choir should be formed from the Eton boys. The headmaster, Rev.G.O.Goodford, told the Commission that they were

> "to have an inferior education;" because he did "not think generally that the education of that class of boys was ever intended to be the same as that of the collegers or oppidans."
>
> (46)

As regards the chapel the Commissioners were of the opinion that

> "the general model of existing Cathedral establishments ought to be followed" at Eton.
>
> (47)

To achieve this

> "The Full choral service should be had, both morning and afternoon, on Sunday and on Ascension day",

and it was their view that

> "the introduction of the musical element, and the use of the organ, tend to make them more acceptable to the majority of the boys, and we accordingly advise that music should always form a part of the daily morning service."
>
> (48)

After the failure of Hullah to interest the boys in music there were no more attempts to provide formal musical education for the boys at Winchester. In his evidence to the Commission Dr.Moberley, the headmaster, stated that

> "the school affords no means of learning music" but "occasionally one or two boys take lessons from teachers of music in the town."
>
> (49)

Like Eton, Winchester had no music master of its own, and the organist of the Cathedral was also organist of the College. This situation existed until the departure of Dr.S.S.Wesley for Gloucester and the appointment of their own organist and full-time musician, William Hutt, in 1865.

A Glee Club had been founded in 1864 and now the pursuit of secular music making was being encouraged rather than suppressed as hitherto had been the situation. As Hutt

did not have the status of a don (full-time master), the newly appointed chaplain and minor canon of the Cathedral, George Beckwith, took over as conductor of the club. But Hutt was encouraged to teach the piano and organ, this proved to be so popular that soon violin lessons were being provided.

The provision for sixteen choristers, called 'Quiristers', was laid down in Winchester's statutes. They had a lower status than those at Eton and Westminster and were admitted 'out of considerations of charity (intuitu charitatis)' (50). In return for singing in chapel they were to be provided with a free education, but they were also to undertake menial tasks within the college. Until the eighteenth century the Quiristers were educated at the college but, as at Eton, such an education was not deemed as being suitable for children of their class.

At Harrow Dr.Butler (headmaster, 1805-1829) had encouraged the growth of music, especially singing, in the school, although it found no place in the curriculum. But it was Dr.Wordsworth (headmaster, 1836-1844) who made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce singing into the chapel. Led by Mrs.Wordsworth, a small group of twelve to fifteen fourth form boys boys tried to sing one of Tate and Brady's Psalms. As the school possessed no hymn-books there was no congregational hymn-singing and when a hymn was sung it was

done so by Mrs.Wordsworth singing solo from the western gallery. In 1848 Dr.Wordsworth's successor, Dr.Vaughan, persuaded Walter Macfarren to take the post of organist of Harrow. The only duty required of the organist was to play for the Sunday services, but Vaughan assured Macfarren that he

> "should surely have pupils amongst the boys." (51)

During his three years at Harrow Macfarren did not have a single pupil. In his autobiography Macfarren wrote:

> "The few boys who seemed interested in music, and who visited that organ loft, would not make a study of music, lest they should be regarded as effeminate by their companions." (52)

In 1857 a few boys asked if they might start a music society, to which the headmaster agreed, but they were not to hold concerts and the society was regarded with disdain by the majority of the school.

In 1860 Mr.J.Bradbury-Turner held the post of organist and he started a chapel choir of fifteen boys but piano tuition was given by Mr.Tillard, who did not even have the status of an 'extra' master. There were now eighteen boys, out of a total of 450, learning a musical instrument.

At Rugby, Dr.Temple (headmaster, 1858-1869) tried

to make the study of music compulsory, but was opposed by the Trustees. However he did double the number of music teachers and provided teaching rooms for the subject. So by the time the Commission investigated the school there were forty-two boys receiving music lessons and the musical contribution to the chapel services seemed to be good.

St.Paul's, Merchant Taylor's and Shrewsbury made no provision for music at all. Westminster irregularly held a voluntary singing class, which at times numbered twenty to twenty-five, taken by the Abbey organist, Dr.Turle. But there was no instrumental tuition.

So provision for music in the 'Great' public schools in the middle of the nineteenth century was at best patchy, often neglected, and frequently strenuously neglected. Even though the Public Schools Commission recommended a widening of the curriculum, the classics were still to predominate and the largest proportion of time given over to their study. As well as their intrinsic educational value the study of the classics was seen to have other advantages. A classical training was considered to be the hallmark of a public school education; its study excluded outsiders and therefore enabled parents to ensure for their sons a place in the upper class elite. Headmasters were also aware of the pragmatic reasons for maintaining the subject's domination of the curriculum. It

could be taught in large numbers and with fluctuating rolls it was easier to dispense with the services of one classics master than re-organize the whole timetable. But though the study of classics might be an excellent discipline and training, the excessive attention to its study could result in the suppression of individual thinking and would do little to stimulate imagination and creative thought.

Any changes in the status of music in a school had to be sanctioned by the headmaster and if the subject was to gain any recognition it would only do so with his support. The headmaster was supreme and once he had been appointed by the Governors all decisions relating to the curriculum were his alone. The headmasters of the 'Nine Great Schools' at this time saw little reason for change. They were the most conservative of educationists and could not see that a boy's lack of culture could be considered a deficiency.

Consequently in their evidence to the Public School Commission headmasters showed little interest in music. At Eton the Rev.G.O.Goodford (Headmaster: 1852-1862, later Provost: 1862-1884) did

> "not consider it a necessary addition to their education" and would not see his "way . . for giving more facilities at present."
>
> (53)

W.Johnson, a master at Eton, also giving evidence to the Clarendon Commission, conceded that although there could be some benefit in musical instruction he was of the opinion that it

> "would be very tedious for the boys to be kept in classes for that purpose."
>
> (54)

In common with most public schools in the middle of the nineteenth century Eton decided that music was not a suitable subject for inclusion in the curriculum.

> "The only way in which music could be taught in Eton is to have a musical society and school concerts, . . They cannot work together in large classes."
>
> (55)

However, the senior mathematics master at Eton, Rev.S.Hawtrey, was a strong advocate for the inclusion of music in the curriculum and believed that the subject benefited the pupils morally and intellectually and concentrated the

> "attention more than any other kind of lesson."
>
> (56)

He had tried to obtain a fifteen minute slot for singing lessons in the arithmetic and writing lessons of the lower school, but the lower school master was against such a proposal.

Other factors militated against the formal establishment of music in the public schools during the nineteenth century, both in the curriculum and outside the classroom. Parents sent their sons to a public school to mould their character and prepare them for their place in society, they were rarely interested in any form of musical education for their sons and were frequently opposed to it. Whether or not the school offered a 'modern curriculum' did not influence the majority of parents. If any criticisms were made by parents that the timetable was too narrow the headmaster could show them the long list of 'extra' masters which the school employed.

A further factor was the obsession with manliness and athleticism, which began in the mid-nineteenth century, and was to epitomize the public school ethos until well into the twentieth century. Most parents were keen that there should be a strong emphasis on games as this would give their sons

> "all the manly virtues, self-reliance, loyalty, pluck and selflessness" (57)

that the Victorian middle and upper class parent expected. Communal living, team spirt, house or school loyalty - all of them exerted a force which despised individuality and any display of emotion was considered 'bad form'. Writing as late as the 1930s, the Rev.T.L.Papillon wrote that he thought the boy educated at a public school

> "brings away with him something beyond all price, a manly straight forward character" and "thus equipped, he goes out into the world, and bears a man's part in subduing the earth, ruling its wildfolk, and building up the Empire'.
>
> (58)

It was against this background of almost hostility that music had to try and establish itself in the public schools.

By the 1860s we can observe that music in most public schools was regarded as an 'extra', a subject to be taken voluntarily in the boys' own free-time. Music societies, where they existed, were organized and paid for by the boys and in the main boys were expected to make their own arrangements for instrumental tuition. Those who did show any interest in the subject were regarded as being 'freaks and effeminate', by their peers and most masters. Parents were not keen to encourage their sons to be musically educated. It was not considered a hall-mark of a gentleman, or a particularly useful accomplishment for a boy, the universities did not provide a residential course for music and so the subject had no academic prestige and was regarded as fit only for foreigners.

At the end of what I define as the first period of development in public school music, we can see that such music that existed in the schools was in the chapels as a result of the religious revivals and interest in chapel

worship. The work of Hullah in the elementary schools and the 'singing movement' in general, was being taken seriously by some public schools whilst others considered it alien and unsuitable for the class of boys who attended their schools. However, music had gained a foothold during this period and the schools were at last beginning to employ a full-time musician.

As I have already stated, the headmaster's views would be crucial and his support would be vital if music were to become established in the public schools. In the next chapter I shall examine and assess the views and attitudes towards music of public school headmasters from the time of the Clarendon Commission. I shall also try to determine what changes there have been in their philosophy of music education and the extent of the influence they have had on the development of music in the public schools.

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CHAPTER TWO

A LIBERAL EDUCATION

If, as we have seen, the majority of those headmasters in the schools investigated by the Public Schools Commission appeared entrenched and unwilling to change, some of those in the new public schools were more ready to adapt to the spirit of the late nineteenth century. This manifested itself in a desire for a more 'liberal education' and a broadening of the curriculum, to the benefit of music.

The views of many eighteenth and nineteenth century educational reformers and philosophers, in common with Plato and Aristotle, were sympathetic to musical education and, as we shall see later, influenced the elementary school curriculum in the late nineteenth century. Their views contrasted strongly with those of the headmasters of the 'Great' public schools in the first half of the century, which were stated in the last chapter. The revered public school headmaster, Thomas Arnold, showed no interest in curriculum reform or music, but his son Matthew, whilst a Board of Education Inspector, in 1863 recommended the teaching of music as a means by which teachers could

"get entrance to the minds of children more easily than they might through literature"
(1)

This statement was supported by John Ruskin who thought that every child should be taught to sing:

"not to be able to sing should be more disgraceful than not being able to read or write."
(2)

From the 1830s onwards greater interest and more concern in the child as an individual was being shown by those outside the public schools in the works and ideas of the great educational reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel.

In 'Emile' Rousseau had indicated that he regarded music

"as an essential element in education". (3)

Although Pestalozzi and Froebel were mainly concerned with early childhood they both saw music as an essential component in a child's education, as part of his development. It would not be until the beginning of the twentieth century that their views had any direct influence on public school education.

The second period of development in public school music, coming after the findings of the Public

Schools Commission, was signalled by the increasing interest of headmasters in the spare-time activities of individuals and the gradual widening of the curriculum. As the century progressed more 'extra masters' were employed and their status was gradually improved, until they were regarded as full members of staff. This went some way to countermand the widespread criticisms of the public schools' narrow curriculum and accusations that they were only inhabited by 'Barbarians and Philistines'(4) where the athlete was idolized.

It was Edward Thring (headmaster of Uppingham 1853-1887) who became the first headmaster actively to encourage the growth of 'extra' subjects as part of a determined educational philosophy. Although he was not a musician himself and in fact had no ear for music at all, his German wife was musical and it was probably through her influence that Thring became interested in the subject.

In a letter to Paul David, before his appointment as director of music at Uppingham in 1865, Thring wrote:

> "It has long been a matter of great interest to me to make music take a proper place in English education."
>
> (5)

In increasing the number of available subjects and activities he stated that his intention was

> "to give every boy the opportunity of following his own tastes, and cultivating his own intellectual fancies."
>
> (6)

To achieve this aim he believed that it was

> "necessary . . that there should be a good choice of subjects . . As great a variety of extra subjects as possible becomes a necessity in a great school. Healthy moral life very much depends on it."
>
> (7)

So those subjects which we now regard as the accustomed part of the modern secondary school curriculum, but were once considered as 'extras' by the public schools, became an integral part of Thring's school work. But they were there to interest boys who lacked academic ability and found the strict diet of classics too much to cope with. In 1867 Thring wrote:

> "In Music, French, German, Drawing, and various branches of Natural Science, . . . the most backward can take refuge. There they can find something to interest them."
>
> (8)

Thring was a classicist and the school day was still to be heavily biassed towards the study of this subject. Besides, a student could only win great prizes at Oxford and Cambridge in classics or mathematics and if Thring were to establish Uppingham as a 'Great' Public

School he could not ignore the supremacy of these two disciplines.

When set against those justifications for music education stated in the introduction, Thring's reasons for including music amongst a list of 'extra subjects' may seem somewhat erroneous. Nevertheless at least a public school was making music classes and singing lessons compulsory for all the boys and giving some recognition to the subject. It was his claim that:

> "Music and drawing are the most attractive of all subjects, music far above everything else." (9)

Thring was a man of influence and other headmasters were to follow his lead as the century progressed. As has already been stated, he was not a musician and possessed no appreciation of the subject, but he took the bold step of appointing a full-time music master and then gave him his full support. His biographer, G.R.Parkin, wrote that Thring

> "would frequently attend the choir rehearsals, and plainly manifest at all times his interest in the musical work done in the school." (10)

Thring and Paul David's achievements were to gain the subject full recognition amongst masters and boys at Uppingham and made it a life influence with many of

them. H.D.Rawnsley, in his biography of Thring, commented:

> "though I never joined the choir and cannot play a note, I, in common with others, left school with such an intimate acquaintance of what true music was, . . and this power of high pleasure is surely an added power to one's working life."
>
> (11)

Dr.S.A.Pears (headmaster of Repton 1854-1874) shared similar aims to those of Thring and like him considerably increased the number of boys in the school. But unlike Thring, Pears, as we noted in the last chapter, was a proficient musician and took a leading part in the school's music, though he did not wish its study to be made compulsory and music found no place in the school curriculum during his time as headmaster.

Although the great majority of headmasters were not willing to go as far as Thring and include music in the curriculum, more were beginning to take an interest in the subject and were keen to see it develop for its "social reasons". It was from around the middle of the century that the annual school concert often linked with Speech or Founder's Day, became a feature and tradition of most schools.

In 1862 Clifton College was founded and the new headmaster, Dr.Percival, though not a practising musician, was eager that provision should be made for music.

Although there were only sixty boys in the school when it opened, a choir of eighteen voices was established. The choir was under the direction of Mr.James Hipwell, but Percival took a great interest in the chapel music and made many suggestions. He also helped to compile the first school hymnal, which did not contain music. Despite the headmaster's attention to music the boys in the early '70s considered it "bad form" to join in the congregational singing. Matters reached such a low ebb that in a sermon the headmaster

"denounced this wrong headed attitude" (12)

and the singing soon greatly improved.

Percival left Clifton in 1878 and became headmaster of Rugby. Here he went even further than at Clifton in his support of music and this perhaps indicates the changing climate of opinion and changing attitudes of public school headmasters during the '60s and '70s. For at Rugby, Percival took the bold step of decreeing that

"the orchestral practice should be held in school time" (13)

and that members of the chapel choir and school concert choir should have

"remission of a certain portion of every week." (14)

A further indication that music was gaining both status and recognition in the public schools.

Another nineteenth century headmaster who took a lively interest in hymnology was the first headmaster of Wellington, E.W.Benson (1859-68), later to become Archbishop of Canterbury. He knew nothing about music and employed a lady called Mrs Moultrie to compose tunes for those hymns which required them, but he devised a most elaborate scheme whereby the hymns were not numbered, and each day in the year was allocated a particular hymn.

In the same year that Clifton was founded (1862), H.H.Almond became headmaster of Loretto and was to remain there for the next forty years. He shared many of the same ideals as Thring though not placing as much emphasis on the study of classics. Almond also wished to make music part of school life and was determined that all boys should experience music making. In 1903, the year that he retired as headmaster, Almond set before the Royal Commission for Scotland what he considered to be his ideal timetable:

> "6 hours study, 10 hours sleep, 1½ hours at meals, 1 hour free after meals, 1 hour drawing or singing, ½ hour prayers or assembly, ½ hour in the gymnasium, 2½ hours at games, 1 hour leisure."
>
> (15)

But it was in the chapel and not in the

classroom where Almond's views on music and his own singular philosophy of musical education were so powerfully displayed. Not for him was there to be an elite surpliced choir but the whole school would be taught to sing the anthems in parts. He abhorred modern music and

> "anything of a sentimental nature",

the music in chapel must

> "be of a broad, robust, and diatonic kind." (16)

Almond took a leading part in the chapel singing, but although he had

> "a fine tenor voice" he "couldn't count." (17)

The last two decades of the century were to show a consolidation in the establishment of music in the schools. Of the original list of twenty-nine schools in the first 'Public Schools Year Book' of 1889, only two made no provision for music and did not employ a music master: Bedford Grammar School and Merchant Taylors'. The Public Schools Commission in its recommendations for Merchant Taylors' stated that:

> "Whilst the ancient classical character of the school is maintained, the same studies which we have recommended as compulsory at other schools would be introduced here. In this case the additions would be Natural Science, German on an equal footing with French, Music and Drawing." (18)

But not until Spencer Leeson became headmaster of Merchant Taylors' in 1927 was there any move to appoint a full-time qualified director of music. Leeson felt that

> "both art and music were not regarded as important as they ought to be in the life of the school", (19)

but he did not persuade the Governors, and the school had to wait until his successor arrived before it appointed a director of music.

Music at Winchester fared slightly better, though perhaps surprisingly not until after Moberley had left. Moberley who was headmaster when the college was investigated by the Public School Commission was an accomplished amateur musician and strongly encouraged his own family in music making. The then organist of the Cathedral and organist of the College, S.S.Wesley, was a frequent visitor to his house and taught his children. As regards the pupils at Winchester he maintained a "frigid neutrality" (20) towards the subject.

It was left to his two successors George Ridding (headmaster 1866-1884) and W.A.Fearon (headmaster 1884-1901), to inaugurate changes in the subject's status. It was Ridding who was behind the developments in music and it was through his influence that the Glee Club was founded.

An increasing number of late nineteenth century headmasters now began to actively support the growth of music and many participated in the musical life of the school and were pleased to make their views known. Dr.H.A.James, headmaster of Rossall (1875-1886) and later at Cheltenham College (1888-1895) and then Rugby (1895-1910), was very interested in music and possessed a "beautiful bass voice". (21) On a Sunday evening, after chapel, the choir assembled in his house and sang to him. He declared that

> "almost the happiest hours he spent at Rossall were passed with the choir." (22)

A.H.Gilkes, headmaster of Dulwich (1885-1914) was so desirous to demonstrate his support for music publicly that he attended every lunch-time band practice and

> "never failed to appear at every orchestra and choir practice." (23)

From 1891 to 1922 Mill Hill was fortunate to have as its headmaster J.D.McClure, who amongst his three doctorates listed a D.Mus from London. He was naturally a strong advocate for the inclusion of music in the curriculum and frequently urged his fellow headmasters to appreciate the value of the subject. He considered the aim of musical education in school to be the

> "cultivation of intelligent listeners, and every encouragement was given to boys who exhibited real appreciation of music . . By every means in his power he tried to overcome boyish worship of an empty display of mere technical dexterity."
>
> (24)

Furthermore he claimed that

> "a boy proficient in music is pretty sure of a welcome in almost any intellectual circle of society."
>
> (25)

We are now beginning to see a widening of the justifications for music in schools. Though the "social reasons" were still strong, the "impressive reasons" were given equal weight, and these two reasons were considered as being sufficient justification for the inclusion of music in a broadening curriculum as the following statements of late nineteenth and early twentieth century headmasters demonstrate.

F.W.Sanderson, (headmaster of Oundle, 1892-1922), wanted music to be available to all boys in the school, whether they played an instrument or not. He took the view that

> "every boy in a school should be given the opportunity of learning to appreciate music, and be able to read and appreciate its masters."
>
> (26)

Like many other headmasters he believed that a modern education was

"based on the organization of a wide curriculum." (27)

and this should include music.

Another headmaster who was a musician was the headmaster of Christ's Hospital, Rev.Arthur W.Upcott (1902-1919) who, whilst a boy at Sherborne, had played the organ for chapel services. He believed strongly in the power and influence of music on a boy's education:

> "It is impossible, I think, to attach too high importance to the position of Music in school education, provided that it is not allowed to interfere with a boy's more serious preparation for the duties of life. Apart from the inestimable value, from a social as well as a practical point of view, of a sound musical training to a boy who possesses a natural talent for music, there is the indirect influence that good music will constantly exercise even upon the 'unmusical' boy, an influence of which he may be almost wholly unconscious at the time, but which will be surely recognised by him in maturer life." (28)

We can see here that although music had gained an acceptance as part of a liberal education, it was still considered by most public school headmasters to be an amusement and a diversion from the

"more serious preparation for the duties of life." (29)

Musicians seemed content to accept this status quo and

sometimes boasted, as at Clifton, that the study of music was carried out

> "without any interference with the just claims either of school work or athletics." (30)

Upcott's dogmatic views on music, as we shall see, were shared by most contemporary headmasters and directors of music, in that he believed that boys should only hear

> "good classical music" (31)

and should not waste their time performing contemporary Victorian pieces. But his forthright opinions were most clearly in evidence concerning chapel music:

> "Church services and anthems are always a difficulty, because many of the works of the old English "classic" composers are rather heavy food for boys, while those of modern composers are often trivial and commonplace." (32)

It was quite obvious that he made it clear to the director of music at Christ's Hospital, Robert Wilkinson, what was the role of music in the chapel services and how he was expected to play the organ. He felt that the chapel choir had a place in the service to provide a standard to which the congregation should aspire. The congregational singing should be in unison but he warns the organist not to alter the harmonies:

"A weird change of harmony unexpectedly introduced often produces a sudden check in the rhythmic roll of voices, and the effect is deplorable."
(33)

He also encouraged organists to make arrangements of the "great masterpieces of music" as a means of musically educating the boys.

Not only was the first headmaster of Clifton, Dr.Percival, interested in music but it seems that his immediate successors shared his views. Canon Wilson and Rev.Dr.Glazebrook were both ardent supporters of the subject and Rev.A.A.David, who became headmaster in 1905, was an accomplished viola player.

But it was Glazebrook, who though not a musician, did most to establish music in the school. He saw it

"as an integral part of a liberal education"
(34)

and was keen that boys should be taught the appreciation of music and be able to judge critically music and its performance. He was influenced by John Farmer's work at Harrow, which I will describe in the next chapter, and wished to emulate at Clifton what he saw as the socializing and moral influence which came from boys singing together. He wanted his boys to leave Clifton

feeling that music was part of their lives:

> "He has taken with him into manhood a sensibility to that great art which is second only to poetry in the power to refine feeling and interpret life. When music is not a thing apart, making for singularity, but woven into the texture of a liberal education, the mind in which it lives cannot but be sympathetic and humane."
>
> (35)

However, the great majority of late nineteenth century headmasters continued to be more concerned with the formation of ethical values and athletic prowess than encouraging cultural pursuits. Whilst headmaster of Eton, Edmond Warre (1884-1905) raised the stature of games to such an extent that little or no time was left for other pursuits. He stated that his aim was to create the

> "best baronets ever seen, loyal and true and kind, the salt of the earth;"
>
> (36)

only through games could he mould his boys; aesthetic and cultural pursuits were seen as being effeminate and hardly to be encouraged.

But after Warre's departure in 1905, even Eton began to put its house in order and alter its outlook towards musical education. The status of music so improved that boys were allowed to come out of classes for their instrumental lessons. Warre's succesor as headmaster, the Hon.and Revd.Edward Lyttelton, believed strongly in the future of music education and its benefits:

"(1) It is a wholesome outlet for the emotions; (2) it is a constant and certain mode of training the brain; (3) all chorus and orchestral work is an admirable training in social co-operation. Further it may be remembered that of all subjects now taught in schools, it is the one in which improvement can be made most visibly manifested, and this is a feature sadly missed in some other subjects of teaching." (37)

The similarities with Metcalfe's three justifications for music, impressive, expressive and social (see page 7), are striking and further evidence that in the sixty years or so since the start of this study the views of public school headmasters on musical education had developed considerably.

In December 1907 Lyttelton wrote to the Eton parents and suggested that some boys might prefer to undertake a 'Musical Holiday Task' rather than a 'Literary' one, which had been the practice. Sixty boys attempted the 'task' which included 'Rudiments of Music', 'Studies of Great Composers' and 'Sight Singing'. Lyttelton felt there was no time to teach these topics to large numbers of boys during the term, but with the aid of a sympathetic parent, or local schoolmaster, or friend, a boy would learn the

"rational enjoyment of good music" (38)

by undertaking such a task.

Winchester was also continuing the work of Ridding and Fearon in putting its house in order with regard to music. William Hutt had been full-time organist since 1865 and although he was better than no musician, music at Winchester was not progressing and lagged behind most of the other public schools. At last Hutt was persuaded to resign and the Governors agreed that a new post would be created,

> "Master of Music, with the full status of a Don." (39)

The new Headmaster, Rev.Dr.Burge, who took over from Fearon in Easter 1901, was

> "entirely in sympathy with the development of the study of music as part of Public School education." (40)

In the thirty years or so since the Public Schools Commission had met, attitudes in the public schools had greatly changed and music had gained acceptance in most schools despite what had often been a hostile environment. It would, however, be wrong to give the impression that music by the end of the century had attained the status, prestige and standards which it now enjoys in most contemporary public schools. Most of the sources for this chapter come from individual public school histories, biographies of former headmasters and articles about schools where music was being encouraged.

The majority of schools still had a long way to go. Even those schools already mentioned which purported to cultivate music, perhaps over stated their claim.

Thomas Beecham, whilst a pupil at Rossall in the last decade of the nineteenth century, found an environment which was probably typical of most public schools at that time:

> "I was lost pathetically in an environment which touched at hardly any point the little world I had hitherto known. No opera, no concerts, not even a string quartet . . . Here I was transported to a sphere alien to mine in habit and mentality, and I began to realize the full meaning and value of that which I had lost, from the day when I had no longer the unlimited chance of enjoying it. . . . It is true that we were not wholly without entertainment of a kind, but those who ruled us had decreed that what was fit for our aesthetic health was an occasional party of glee-singers or comic recitalists."
>
> (41)

Also in this extract from Thomas Beecham's autobiography we see that attitudes at some schools towards the musical schoolboy seemed to have changed very little in the thirty years since Parry was a pupil at Eton.

> "I took part in nearly all games, but within a well-calculated absence of zeal, as I saw that a fuller absorption in them would rob me of many of the hours I preferred to give to books and music. This coolness of mine towards the supreme value of athletics was regarded by nearly everyone with mixed feelings. My prowess at the keyboard was in one way recognized as an asset to school prestige, but that anyone should choose to devote days and weeks to the practice necessary for an adequate rendering of a

difficult piano piece when one might be winning life's greatest crown in a football or hockey team was the subject of a fairly general if compassionate disapproval." (42)

In 1904 Arthur Benson wrote about Eton during Warre's reign as headmaster:

"I declare it makes me very sad sometimes to see those well groomed, well-mannered, manly boys all taking the same view of things, smiling politely at the eccentricity of anyone who finds matter for serious interest in books, in art or music." (43)

That music was still regarded very much as a minority activity even well into the twentieth century can be witnessed in this extract from an article written in 1912 in the 'Journal of Education':

"It is the boy who has no talent for games and no ambition to be a "blood" who frequently takes refuge in art; the trouble is that he tends thus to become over-precious and to make the gulf between himself and the Philistine impassable." (44)

In his book 'Post-Victorian music', published in 1911, Charles L.Graves asks the question:

"Are boys at public and private schools more musical than they used to be, say, thirty years ago?" (45)

After listing the opportunities available for "cultivating their musical taste" (46), such as the chapel, instrumental lessons, various societies and concerts or recitals given by distinguished artists he concludes:

"To expect any radical changes in the comparative values assigned to the pre-eminence in the art and athletics at our schools would be premature, to say the least of it. Nor are we prepared to assert that schoolboys of to-day are really more musical than those of the last generation. What we do assert is that they have more opportunities of hearing music, and that those who are prepared to make sacrifices are better trained and taught."

(47)

In a forthright chapter entitled 'The Gentlemen in Music' from his book 'Music and Musicians', Edward Baughan stated that he was of the opinion that the public school education available in the nineteenth century had not been good for English music. He wrote that

"the gentleman by birth and training is the last man who should be a musician."

(48)

This is because the qualities of "restraint" and "uniformity", which a public school education instilled, and the grounding in favour of "the suppression of emotions" and "against sentiment", (49) were all incompatible with the creative individuality required in a musician - a view shared even by the apotheosis of the public school musician, Sir.Hubert Parry:

"respectability obliterates individuality and reduces everything to the dreary level of monotonous barrenness."

(50)

At this point it is worth reflecting on the views of the headmasters so far mentioned, and endeavouring to determine any coherent philosophy of music

education which they all held. It would seem that we can list three main justifications for music in the public school which appeared or were developed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

We begin with Thring's and Pears' philosophy of providing additional activities to interest the boys, a philosophy not solely centred on music. We then have the development of the idea of music as a vehicle for chapel worship, a moralizing influence and later a means of expressing house or team spirit through specially composed songs. But it was not until late in the century that a view detached from music's utilitarian values appeared. All the justifications I have already mentioned above remained, but to these three was added the cultivation of listeners through the appreciation of music. I shall write at greater length in later chapters about the "appreciation movement" and how public school music masters addressed themselves to cultivating "intelligent listeners". Suffice it to say at this moment that this principle of musical education has dominated public school music for most of this century.

Referring again to Metcalfe's justifications for teaching music we can see that the "impressive category" of

> "teaching mental discipline, the widening of general knowledge,... and the transmission of cultural heritage";

and the "social reasons" of

> "being inculcated with a spirt of unity, patriotism, social cohesion, or whatever corporate values are considered desirable",
>
> (51)

had predominated. We shall see in chapter four how the school songs were considered by headmasters as an ideal vehicle for cultivating these values. Before the turn of the century there was little mention of the "expressive" reasons.

When J.H.Badley founded his school 'Bedales', in 1892, and became its first headmaster, he stated that a child's education must be mainly concerned with the

> "developing of creative intelligence, and with the intellectual and emotional tendencies, the formation of interests, purposes and ideals."
>
> (52)

Though not a musician himself he was strongly influenced by the work of Pestalozzi and Froebel and placed music centrally in his educational plan. He was of the opinion that schooling was not just the amassing of facts but learning should take place through activity.

His "expressive" justifications for providing a musical education were opposed to the narrow "impressive"

and "social" reasons of the late nineteenth century headmasters. In his book 'Bedales: A Pioneer School ' he wrote:

> "We are too much accustomed to think of art as something necessary for life, an added ornament rather than an essential means of self-expression. The child's impulse to dance, to sing, to make mud-pies or pictures or collections of treasures, are the instinctive expression of his vitality; and education, if it ignores and leaves undeveloped this side of his nature, may produce a high standard of cleverness but a poor human being." (53)

Throughout the twentieth century headmasters have shown an increasing appreciation of the role of the arts in a child's education. But, since the 1902 Balfour Education Act and the emergence of the examination system in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the influences on the organization of the curriculum and the type of education provided in a public school have been increasingly dictated by external pressures. This marks the beginning of the third period of development in public school music. In this period before the Second World War the public school curriculum was being widened even further and the importance of games was being reduced.

William Wyamar Vaughan when he went to Wellington as headmaster in 1910, was unhappy about the

"barrenness of cultural life" (54)

and was concerned about the state of music; and G.C.Turner in his first sermon as headmaster of Marlborough in 1926 stated that

> "under his regime the aesthetic and liberal arts were to be fostered." (55)

F.J.Shirley (King's Canterbury 1935-1962), took a deep interest in the music and considered the excellence and outstanding reputation of the school as being one of his greatest achievements as headmaster.

Because changes in curriculum during the twentieth century have been increasingly dictated by external pressures there has been less interest in the individual views of public school headmasters. Any views on music of headmasters before the Second World War have tended to be general comments in support of music rather than specific statements giving reasons for their support. However, statements in 'Public Schools Year Books' have been increasingly fulsome throughout this century and it is now quite common for a whole paragraph to be devoted to the work of the music department alone.

Platitudes such as these for the prospective parents abound in contemporary public school prospectuses, all of which must presumably have been approved by the headmaster and indicate their continued support:

"Music is particularly strong."

"There is a strong musical tradition in the school."

"The school is noted for the wide range of its musical activities."

"The Music School plays an important part in the academic, social and spiritual life of the school."

"Music plays a prominent part in the life of the school."

The contemporary headmaster views the position of a director of music as one of his most important appointments and the status of music within his school as one of the salient indicators of the school's reputation. Support of music is now usually considered by school Governors as a significant attribute when appointing a new headmaster and the strength of choral and instrumental music in today's public schools, which we will see in chapters four and five, is a reflection of this.

When considering the position of the arts in schools today, the Gulbenkian Report of 1982 was firmly of the opinion that they flourished when they were supported:

"There are many schools where the arts flourish. In every case the headteacher and other staff appreciate and support them. In those schools where head teachers think the arts are marginal, they suffer, whatever the economic circumstances." (56)

Addressing the SATIPS music course at Worcester College, Oxford in 1985, Christopher Everett headmaster of Tonbridge School, chairman of HMC in 1986, expressed the opinion that the creative and performing arts were so important in a school because

> "above all other subjects they are concerned with sensibility, with the communication, expression, recognition and creation of feeling."
> (57)

A view which is firmly in support of the "expressive" justification for music in schools.

The late nineteenth century headmasters' views on musical education were pivotal in the establishment of music departments in the public schools. We have observed throughout this chapter the headmasters' developing philosophy of musical education and this I contend is indicative of the development of the musical education in the public schools. Increasingly since the middle of the nineteenth century headmasters have encouraged the development of musical activities in their schools and, following the success of John Farmer at Harrow and Paul David at Uppingham, headmasters have been keen to attract musicians of the highest calibre into their schools. It was the vitality and professional quality of such men as these, coupled with the support of sympathetic headmasters, which created and established a phenomenon of public school education. It is their views, objectives and

methods that we shall study in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER THREE

DIRECTORS OF MUSIC

As we observed at the end of chapter one, by the end of the 1860s most public schools had some sort of a musician attached to them, though he was probably only employed as an organist or piano teacher and considered as an outsider, or 'extra' master:

> "'Extra' masters were concerned with the frills of education - anything outside the serious study of the classics..... These masters lived on the fringe of school society, tolerated, even sometimes encouraged, but essentially an inferior breed, lacking the security of a full staff member." (1)

Some boys, with perhaps the help of one or two interested masters, formed musical societies and occasional concerts of an informal nature were given. The music master might have been invited by the boys to act as an accompanist or attend meetings, but he was usually not the organiser. Most headmasters considered that these voluntary societies run by amateurs were adequate to fulfil the musical needs of a handful of boys, but in most schools the majority of boys left without any exposure to the subject. One of the greatest challenges which confronted the public school music master was to raise the subject's status and persuade his headmaster that music should be considered part of the curriculum and not looked

upon as an "extra" taught privately to a few individuals.

We observed in chapter one that at Radley Dr.Monk was appointed

> "organist, and Precentor, and Musical Teacher," (2)

at the college's foundation in 1847, and at Bradfield, Mr.R.L.Binfield was appointed organist and choirmaster in 1850. But these men were in reality appointed as musical directors of virtually choral and certainly religious foundations, not as music masters. The first musician to enter a school at the invitation of the pupils, who gained some status for the subject, must be John Farmer. He began his musical career at the age of fourteen at Leipzig in 1851, subsequently studying in Coburg. Whilst he was demonstrating pianos at the International Exhibition in 1862 Farmer impressed some Old Harrovians so much that they invited him to take charge of the Musical Society; he would be paid a small sum by the boys but would have no official position at the School. At that time the post of organist was held by Mr.J.Bradbury Turner.

But Farmer was a great enthusiast and

> "had the wonderful power of making nearly everyone with whom he came in contact enthusiastic for music." (3)

Though employed by a small group of interested boys, Farmer set out with a crusading zeal to bring music to all Harrovians. He first of all obtained permission from one housemaster to hold regular singing parties in the evening. These would consist of well-known patriotic and folk-songs, but soon masters were writing words for Farmer to set to music. Such was the popularity of these singing parties that very quickly other Houses were anxious to invite Farmer in, and by the following year all Houses were involved.

In 1864 Bradbury-Turner resigned, but surprisingly the headmaster, Dr.Butler, did not straightaway offer the post to Farmer but instead to Rev.Charles Gray, an old college friend of Butler's, who would combine the post with that of mathematical master. However Gray declined and Farmer was appointed. Butler was obviously aware of the good work being done by Farmer for in a letter to Gray he said:

> "I shall offer the post of Organist to an admirable man here, who is certainly a most accomplished and enthusiastic musician. I am only doubtful whether he is quite at home on the Organ. He has organised 23 of my House and 13 of Westcott's into singing classes, and the combined Choirs are to sing before the whole School in Speech Room next Saturday. This represents a great revolution in Harrow ideas." (4)

The concert referred to by Butler marks a decisive step in the history of Harrow music and possibly

even public school music in general, as it was the first ever documented to be given by boys in a building belonging to the school. Farmer conducted for the first time as 'Musical Instructor'.

With some official status Farmer now decided to try and develop aspects of school music other than House Singing. He persuaded Butler to revert to unison singing in the chapel and use strong, powerful hymn tunes. In 1870 he introduced, for the first time, concerts by visiting musicians, believing that these would inspire the boys. He also established the orchestra, choral class and brass band. But despite all this, when Farmer came to leave Harrow in 1885 to become organist of Balliol College Oxford, he was still only considered an "extra" master.

Edward Thring was probably the first headmaster to appoint as a member of the regular staff a music master, as distinct from a man whose primary duty was to direct chapel music. In Paul David, Thring at last found a musician with sufficient enthusiasm, charisma and expertise to interest the boys and develop the music at Uppingham. It can safely be asserted that he established a music department, which others were to follow, and he is largely responsible for establishing the form of musical education which still exists today in the public school.

Paul David was born in Leipzig the son of the famous violinist, Ferdinand David. At the age of 24 he went to Uppingham in March 1865 and was to remain there for the rest of his working life; he retired in 1908 and died in 1932. David was fortunate in having the full support of Thring and possibly because the headmaster was unmusical he had a completely free hand in all matters musical. Singing classes were provided in the timetable and attendance was made compulsory for the boys. Each boy who entered the school had to have his voice tested and if found suitable was placed in the choir.

His philosophy of musical education was simple and shared with those of most late nineteenth century headmasters and music masters. His aim was

> "the spreading of intelligent understanding and sound taste in the domain of good and serious music." (5)

This he felt could best be achieved by the study of the works of Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Mendelssohn. His opinion was that

> "The works of these classical masters are comparatively simple and transparent in form and harmonies, easy to grasp and not too difficult to execute." (6)

He considered that the works of his contemporaries were far too complex to be understood and appreciated by schoolboys - a somewhat ironical view, as

today's directors of music now find late nineteenth century music easy for pupils to grasp, rhythmically and harmonically, whereas the works of many modern composers are often too "complex".

In his work at Uppingham, David was assisted by five other musicians who all considerably helped develop the musical life of the school. He created an orchestral tradition which was without parallel in any school in the world and symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, along with other works of the standard classical repertory, were regularly performed. There was also a large choral society and David believed that they should all have the opportunity of singing 'Messiah', 'Samson', 'Judas Maccabeus', and Mendelssohn's two great oratorios, which formed a regular cycle at Uppingham. Chamber music was frequently performed and David considered it a "wholesome form of discipline" (7) for the boys to have to attend these concerts.

Within a few years, therefore, David had established a blue-print which would be taken up by a new generation of public school musicians.

These men included James Sterndale Bennett (Sherborne 1871- 1877), Louis Napoleon Parker (Sherborne 1877-1891),Sir Joseph Barnby (Eton 1875-1892), E.D.Rendall

(Dulwich 1884-1901, Charterhouse 1902-1919), Eton Faning (Harrow 1885-1901), Clement Spurling (Oundle 1891-1936), C.H.Lloyd (Eton 1892-1914), A.H.Peppin (Clifton 1896-1915, Rugby 1915-1924), Basil Johnson (Rugby 1886-1914, Eton 1914-1926) and E.T.Sweeting (Winchester 1901-1924).

When the headmaster of Sherborne, Daniel Harper, appointed James Sterndale Bennett it was officially to teach mathematics, but in reality it was to develop the school's music. Bennett went to Sherborne in 1871 and found an environment barren of all musical life. He straight away founded a Musical Society, which was entirely voluntary and tolerated by the authorities only on condition that it would not interfere with school work or games. Almost immediately the society began rehearsing Handel's 'Judas Maccabeus' and with his patience, tact, humour, enthusiasm and understanding of boys he soon won over the many sceptics.

In 1877 Bennett left Sherborne to become headmaster of Derby School and his place as director of music was taken by Napoleon Parker. Parker had gone to Sherborne as a temporary piano teacher in 1873 but was to remain there for fourteen years. As stated in the introduction, we are fortunate to be able to acquire an accurate picture of public school musical life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century from the

autobiographies and articles in leading musical journals written by these pioneers in musical education. Parker's own autobiography is entitled 'Several of my lives' and gives a very detailed description of what life was probably like for most public school music masters in the late nineteenth century.

His main income came from piano teaching. In the summer his working day began at 6.30 am and in the winter at 7.30 am so that he could give two or three hours' piano lessons before he had breakfast. He began again immediately after lunch and taught till 4.00 pm and in the evening from 7.00 till 9.30 pm. These times presumably did not conflict with school work, as boys were not allowed out of classes for instrumental lessons. In addition he trained the choir, choral society and orchestra and on Sundays played the organ for two or three services. When numbers diminished at the school and the number of piano pupils drastically fell, he was forced to teach pupils outside the school:

> "giving a singing lesson here, a harmony lesson there, half a dozen piano lessons, and trying to teach one clergyman the organ."
>
> (8)

He was now the conductor of five choral societies, was regularly giving lectures and was also teaching French and German in the school.

Parker had a philosophy of musical education which even today would find favour with most public school headmasters. He saw the practical involvement of boys in musical performance as the best way to teach appreciation, to create taste and instil a love of the subject:

> "the great object of a musician in a public school must be by all and any means to inspire the boys with a love of music in general, and with a sufficient practical experience of it to enable them to understand any music they may hear in later life, whether it be instrumental or vocal, sacred or secular, large or small."
>
> (9)

For him the centre of musical life and education was not in the classroom but in the school musical society, where works were prepared and performed by the boys. In his book, 'Several of my lives', he wrote:

> "Music is an art in which an ounce of performance is worth tons of listening, and the boy who has sung a part in the great oratorios has an intimate knowledge of them, and acquires an affection for them, which no amount of listening might give them."
>
> (10)

We observe in this statement what over the last century has become the most common approach to musical training in the public schools; that more is to be achieved by encouraging pupils to become involved with musical activities than through classroom work, especially in a boarding school. This is an opinion which I shall return to in the last chapter and conclusion.

By the close of the century, of the list of eighty-eight schools entered in the 'Public Schools Year Books' eleven list no music master; forty-eight list one musician, seventeen schools two musicians, seven schools three musicians, three schools four musicians, one school five musicians (Dulwich) and Uppingham tops the poll with six. Only seven of the schools showed any permanent increase in their music staff in the last decade of the nineteenth century: Bedford (1), Fettes (2), Haileybury (3), Malvern (3), Marlborough (2), Repton (4) and Sherborne (3). Of these probably the most notable was Bedford who appointed their first music master in 1899 and embarked upon a steady period of growth.

The titles given by schools to the senior musician varied considerably and often reflected the founder's original intention or the strength of the chapel. The title of 'Precentor' was used by Bradfield, Dover, Radley and Eton; the other great choral foundation, Winchester, used the title 'Master of the Music'. But many schools list their only musician as being 'Organist', or 'Organist and Choirmaster' or just 'Choirmaster'. The other titles used for musicians included 'Music Master' (the most common), 'Director of Music' (a term used by only a few before the beginning of this century) and 'Instructor in Music' (used by only a few). In certain cases a music master was not employed specifically to

teach only music but to combine it with another subject; music and classics (Abingdon), maths and piano (Sedbergh), maths and violin (Sedbergh), geography and music (Edinburgh Academy), commercial subjects and music (King's London) and music and drawing (City of London).

Of those directors of music appointed late in the nineteenth or in the early part of the twentieth century whose work was to have an influence on the course of public school education outside their own environment, the names of A.H.Peppin and Clement Spurling stand pre-eminent. Peppin was appointed organist and choirmaster at Clifton in 1896, where he did most of his pioneering work. In 1915 he went to Rugby as Organist and Musical Director. In 1927 he published his book 'Public Schools and their Music' which set forth his own singular and idiosyncratic views rather than reviewing the achievements of other schools, which might have been expected from the title.

Peppin was dogmatic in his opinions on how a public school music department should be run. He firmly believed that the most effective way to train intelligent listeners was by teaching boys the piano:

> "there is no ear-training that equals in value that derived from the study of the piano." (11)

He issued a comprehensive list of graded pieces

which boys were to follow. A record was kept of all boys' achievements and no piece was to be left until it had been properly mastered and particular attention was paid to sight-reading.

He pursued a more didactic approach to the subject than many of his more enlightened contemporaries, believing that a thorough and systematic study of the rudiments of music would awaken in the schoolboy a "lively interest" (11) in the subject. But, in his appreciation lectures he was to be one of the pioneers of an educational movement which, as stated in the last chapter, was to have a profound influence on the content of class music in the public schools. Like Paul David at Uppingham, Peppin wished boys to be exposed to concerts and recitals by professional musicians. In 1902 he established the 'Annual Orchestral Concert' given by a professional orchestra. Peppin chose the music and conducted the orchestra, but his most important innovation was to give four lectures as a preparation for each concert. These lectures were voluntary but such were Peppin's gifts as a lecturer that they became very popular with the boys; his aim was to create intelligent listeners by illustrating the main themes and giving the boys

"a plain understanding of their general development." (13)

So effective were these lectures that apparently even the most unmusical boys enjoyed the concerts and they became an annual event both at Clifton and later at Rugby when he moved to become its director of music.

Also at Clifton and then subsequently at Rugby, Peppin instituted the inter-house instrumental competition which is still a feature of so many public schools. Using the example of the potent athletic spirit, Peppin's idea was to stimulate the lazy musician, interest the non-musicians and the diffident performer. He believed that there was a

> "large number of boys whom nothing could induce to do their best musical work until the prospect of membership in a house team has been held out." (14)

But apart from this his aim was to stimulate instrumental work through the growth of house chamber music and orchestras.

Clement Spurling was appointed music master at Oundle School in 1891 by F.W.Sanderson. When he went to the school there were under twenty learning an instrument, by the time he left in 1936 there were almost two hundred boys out of a school of 570 receiving instrumental tuition. He too thought that his duty as a musician was to teach the boys under his

"care to like, to appreciate, to understand, to love the best and greatest music, and get all the good they can out of it." (15)

He believed that rather than trying to keep his boys away from 'vulgar' or poor music, which in his opinion included jazz, they should be allowed to listen to and learn some of it. In this way, by comparison, they would soon realise what good music was and how much more satisfaction they gained from the study of it. For him every music lesson was to be an appreciation lesson in which good and poor music should be minutely analysed and compared. His method of studying music was very similar to Paul David's:

". . . in order to show them what good music is made of, we must at all costs teach them some suitable Bach and Beethoven." (16)

Like Parker he believed that the best way to achieve "mental and spiritual enlightenment from music" was through performance (17); and he followed a policy of making the whole school join in singing some large scale choral work.

"Let them take part in great works, don't ask them merely to listen - that in itself is not sufficient, they must join in somehow - they will soon like it, and real appreciation will follow." (18)

He disagreed with Peppin over the value of

inter-house music competitions, believing that enthusiasm for music could be stimulated without having to resort to boys' competitive spirit.

There were many other directors of music whose methods may not have been so innovative as those already mentioned but whose work within their own school may have inspired or influenced others. Some will be remembered for the great work they did in establishing music departments, others for the prestigious office they achieved after leaving the school.

Amongst the former there was E.D.Rendall (Dulwich 1884-1902; Charterhouse 1902-1919). Rendall was the first music master to be appointed to Dulwich on a full-time basis, though his original terms of employment also included teaching mathematics. J.W.Ivimey taught at Wellington, Harrow, Dulwich, then for a brief spell during the First World War acted as director of music at Cheltenham College before becoming director at Marlborough in 1919. A.H.Fox-Strangways did much to develop the music at Wellington (1893-1901) before achieving fame as a music critic. His place was taken over by A.S.Tomlinson (1901-1921), he in turn was succeeded by George Dyson who had previously been at Marlborough (1911-1914) and Rugby (1914) and was to go on to Winchester in 1924.

David Newsome reports that within a year of Dyson's appointment at Wellington the good effects could be seen:

> "Lectures on the history of music, recitals, ambitious onslaughts on rare works, the engagement of instructors to teach wind instruments, constituted the first step in a policy which was completely to transform the musical life of the College, and to have a deep and lasting effect on its cultural life."
>
> (19)

Wellington was also to be fortunate in obtaining the services of W.K.Stanton when Dyson left for Winchester. Stanton had been at St.Edward's Oxford and, as we shall see in the chapter five, he raised the standard of music at Wellington immeasurably. His work and ideas were much respected by other musical educators and he contributed to many leading musical journals.

Others of the late nineteenth-century and Pre-Second World War whose work was highly respected included Basil Johnson (Rugby 1886-1914; Eton 1914-1926), C.H.Lloyd (Eton 1892-1914), E.T.Sweeting (Winchester 1901-1924), H.C.Stewart (Lancing 1891-1896; Wellington 1897-1898; Tonbridge 1898-1919), P.C.Buck (Harrow 1901-1927) and A.Brent-Smith (Lancing 1912-1934).

By the end of the nineteenth century public schools were attracting musicians of the highest calibre

into their employment. As the following list of examples show, many went on to attain high positions in the academic, musical and cathedral world:-

Joseph Barnby (Eton 1975-1892) Principal Guildhall School of Music.

E.M.Besly (Tonbridge 1912-1914) Organist of Queen's College Oxford.

A.H.Brewer (Tonbridge 1892-1896) Organist of Bristol and Gloucester Cathedrals.

P.C.Buck (Harrow 1901-1927) Professor of Music Dublin and London Universities. Organist of Wells and Bristol Cathedrals.

George Dyson (Marlborough 1911-1914; Rugby 1914; Wellington 1921-1924; Winchester 1924-1937) Director Royal College of Music.

G.T.Francis (Ardingly 1911-1928) Organist of Southwell Minster.

Alan Gray (Wellington 1883-1892) Organist of Trinity College, Cambridge.

J.W.Ivimey (Dulwich 1906-1910; Cheltenham 1915-1918; Marlborough 1919-1933) Organist of Llandaff Cathedral.

Bernard Luard-Selby (Bradfield 1916-1918) Organist of Rochester Cathedral.

E.S.Lytell (Glenalmond 1896-1905) Professor of History Southampton University.

William McKie (Clifton 1926-1930) Organist of Westminster Abbey.

Noel Ponsonby (Marlborough 1915-1919) Organist of Canterbury and Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

H.W.Rhodes (Lancing 1909-1912) Organist of Coventry and Winchester Cathedrals.

F.H.Shera (Malvern 1916-1928) Professor of Music Sheffield University.

W.K.Stanton (Wellington 1924-1937) Professor of Music Bristol University.

H.C.Stewart (Lancing 1891-1896; Wellington 1897-1898; Tonbridge 1898-1919) Organist of Magdalen College, Oxford.

P.J.Taylor (Cheltenham 1923-1942) Organist of Magdalen College, Oxford.

R.S.Terry (St.John's Leatherhead 1894-1895; Downside 1896-1901) Organist of Westminster Cathedral.

R.S.Thatcher (Charterhouse 1919-1927; Harrow 1928-1936) Deputy Director of Music BBC; Principal Royal Academy of Music.

T.Wood (Tonbridge 1918-1924) Organist of Exeter College, Oxford.

This interchange of careers has continued after the Second World War as the following examples show:

Malcolm Boyle (King's Canterbury) Organist of Chester Cathedral.

Timothy Brown (Oundle) Clare College, Cambridge.

Philip Cranmer (Wellington 1938-1940) Professor of Music Belfast University.

Edward Garden (Loretto 1957-1966) Professor of Music Sheffield University.

Willis Grant (King Edward's, Birmingham) Professor of Music Bristol University.

Douglas Guest (Uppingham 1945-1950) Organist of Salisbury, Worcester and Westminster Abbey.

Henry Havergal (Fettes 1924-1933; Harrow 1936-1945; Winchester 1946-1953) Principal Royal Scottish Academy of Music.

Ian Little (Dean Close, Cheltenham and Ampleforth) Organist of Coventry Cathedral.

David Lepine (Dean Close, Cheltenham) Organist of Coventry Cathedral.

Kenneth Malcolmson (Eton) Organist of Newcastle Cathedral.

Stephen Pinnock (Ardingly and King's Canterbury) Organist of Manchester Cathedral.

Sydney Watson (Radley 1930-1933; Winchester 1938-1946; Eton 1946-1956). Organist of New College and Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

R.Woodham (Bradfield 1936-1946; Sherborne 1946-1947) Professor of Music Reading University.

Whilst director of music at St.John's Leatherhead and more importantly, later at Downside, Richard Terry caused quite a stir by introducing unaccompanied singing at weekday services. His work at Downside did much to revive the interest in music written for the Latin Ritual by early English composers and many masses of this period, including Byrd's Three and Five part masses, were performed liturgically for the first time whilst he was at the school.

Thus the influence of public school musical life was to be exerted on British musical life in general and this list does not take into account the many assistant music staff and pupils who have gained distinction in the world outside school.

No matter how highly respected was the work of these early directors of music, they rarely achieved the status of other masters in the school. It was not until after the Second World War that the majority became full-members of common room and were paid the same salary as

their colleagues. Before then most music masters received a large part of their income from giving boys private instrumental lessons. Even now the music department is sometimes listed separately in a school's entry in the 'Public Schools Year Book'.

The status of the public school music master and his department in the early part of the twentieth century is summarized in an article by George Dyson:

> "When I went to Marlborough in 1911 I was the first musician to be made, by right, a full member of the Masters' Common Room. My predecessor, W.S.Bambridge, had been there for forty-seven years, was universally beloved, and had created, on the congregational side, a strong singing tradition. But he was never a full member of staff. . . . . In 1914 I succeeded Basil Johnson at Rugby, and here too I was the first musician to be salaried like the rest of the staff. But there and at Marlborough, before my time, the organist 'farmed' the music-teaching. He took the fees and his assistants were paid from them. The whole department was external."
>
> (20)

We have already observed how Parker had to seek pupils outside the school when numbers dropped at Sherborne. Eaton Faning (Harrow 1885-1901), Farmer's successor, as well as performing his duties at school also taught at the Royal Academy of Music, the Royal College of Music and the Guildhall School of Music. George Dyson lectured at universities, took over Walford Davies' BBC broadcasts, taught at the Royal College of Music on one day a week, and conducted the City Orchestra and an adult

choral society in addition to being the Master of Music at Winchester.

The subject had no academic status, partly because, as we observed in chapter one, it was

> "considered unworthy of the serious attention of a gentleman",
>
> (21)

and also because music degrees were not accorded the same respect as that given to other subjects. In the first half of the nineteenth century a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Music of Oxford submitted a composition, with a fee, to the Professor of Music. If the latter approved, the candidate hired some musicians, had the work performed at the university and the degree was awarded. The successful candidate could then go on to present himself for the Doctorate of Music by the same method.

Matters improved slightly when Ouseley was appointed Professor at Oxford in 1855. A written examination was now required in addition to the submission of a composition. It involved harmony and counterpoint, fugue, canon, formal analysis and musical history and this set a pattern for musical examinations and teaching in British universities and schools, which was still having an effect one hundred years later.

Not until 1893 was three years residency made compulsory at Cambridge and in 1911 at Oxford. One of the last candidates to obtain the Bachelor degree from Cambridge before the new regulations came into force was a director of music, Eaton Faning. He reported that in his viva voce the only question asked of him was

> "How many barrel-organs do you meet, as a rule, between your house and the station?" (22)

Apparently he did not answer the question but still passed.

By the end of the nineteenth century it was felt that there was a need for some sort of conference similar to that for headmasters, where directors of music could discuss musical matters and share experiences. The first 'Conference of Organists and Directors of Music in Secondary Schools' was held in London in 1900 at the instigation of the Rev.Dr.Rowton of Epsom and later of Bradfield. The chairman at the first two annual meetings was Dr.C.H.H.Lloyd and twenty-five directors of music attended. In 1902 the 'Union of Directors of Music' was formed, in 1914 the Union was expanded to include Assistants, and in 1916 the title 'Music Masters' Association' was adopted.

In 1928 the Association was taken under the

umbrella of the Incorporated Society of Musicians and women were admitted as well as directors of music of preparatory schools. The intention of the Association was, and still is, to provide a forum whereby all musical matters relating to independent schools could be discussed. In December 1981 the Incorporated Society of Musicians ejected the Music Masters' Association, which then re-formed as an autonomous body on 1st October 1982 with the new title of 'Music Masters' and Mistresses' Association'. The constitution of the new Association stated as its main objective:

> "The Association is founded with the object of furthering all aspects of music in independent schools." (23)

The aims were broken down into four subdivisions:

> "1. To recommend good practice in the areas of common interest.
> 2. To promote cross-fertilization of ideas and experience of MMA members.
> 3. To be recognised and accepted by its own members as their representative professional organisation, and as a source of useful information and sound guidance.
> 4. To be recognised and accepted by external organisations (e.g.HMC, GSA, the Associated Board) as the professional organisations representing music education in independent schools, and as a source of sound professional opinion and guidance in this field."
>
> (24)

When it broke away from the Incorporated Society there were 632 members, 414 remained and 218 resigned. At

the end of the first year there were 392 members, there are now over 800 members. It is not a Union and will not act on behalf of its members in legal matters though it did draw up a 'Code of Practice for the employment of Directors of Music' which has been taken up by some schools.

Of the 154 Directors of Music listed in the 1989 MMMA Directory, all but 8 were graduates. Sixty-five were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge and 21 were graduates of a Music College. Of the remaining 60 the largest proportion were graduates of Durham (at least 14) or had taken the B.Mus of London (at least 15) whilst studying at the Royal Academy or Royal College of Music. At least 93 of the 152 were organists, a further indication that, although many schools have abandoned regular compulsory chapel, it is still influential in the appointment of a director of music, especially in the boarding school. Most directors of music will have served their apprenticeship in a similar school where they would have been required to accompany the chapel choir on the organ. It is likely that some directors of music will also consider that their duties in a public school will enable them to continue their enthusiasm for church music without the many difficulties of recruitment which often beset the provincial cathedral organist and at the same time provide them with a far better regular income.

The contemporary public school director enjoys a status and position of respect which was rarely accorded to his predecessors, no matter how highly regarded they may have been. The appointment is now regarded as one of the most crucial in a school and one which could affect the reputation and status of the school. The director of music is seen as an 'up front' man who is vital to the school's public relations. This is summed up in the following extract from a tribute to the former director of music of Charterhouse, Bill Llewellyn, by Brian Rees who was successively headmaster of Merchant Taylors', Charterhouse and Rugby:

> "The position of Director of Music is one of the pivotal elements in any school hierarchy. The fruits of his labours are more directly open to inspection and appraisal than other areas of school life and in modern times they have to be judged against the wide range of oratorio and orchestral music that is available on disc and tape. If a school adheres to the tradition of a weekly Congregational Hymn Practice, his pedagogic talents have to be employed in teaching a class of six or seven hundred pupils under the eyes of his colleagues." (25)

These points are echoed in the 1984 'Code of Practice' for the appointment of Directors of Music:

> "There seems to be general recognition by both Heads and Directors of Music that the position of Director is complex and exposed, and that it can have an important influence on the ethos and prestige of the school." (26)

The specimen job definition for the post of a director of music includes duties which far exceed those expected of most heads of music in the maintained sector. The organisation of music in the curriculum is only a small part of his role and his duties as impresario, administrator and charismatic leader seem to be of greater importance. The status of music music and the prestige accorded to a director of music in a public school is envied by many in the maintained sector, as this extract from the Department of Education and Science's pamphlet of 1969, 'Music in Schools', demonstrates:

> "The quality of staff that can be obtained depends to a considerable extent upon the range of musical activities that are offered. It is particularly important to offer sufficient opportunities, including scope for developing advanced work and corporate activities, to attract a first-rate head of department, who should be something of an impresario as well as a good musician, organiser and teacher, ... who enjoys the same prestige as the director of music in a public school."
>
> (27)

The following, taken from the 'job definition' reveals the demands made of a public school director of music apart from his teaching duties:

"ORGANISATION OF INDIVIDUAL MUSIC TEACHING

a. Arrange instrumental, solo singing and theory teaching on an individual basis for pupils requiring it;
b. Recommend to the Head suitable teachers for appointment;
c. Provide a suitable timetable for lessons, in accordance with school regulations;

d. Consult with teachers about the work and progress of their pupils;
e. Supervise and encourage the recruitment of instrumental and solo singing pupils;
f. Arrange for the provision of instruments, their maintenance and repair;
g. Render accounts to the Bursar of charges to be made to pupils' parents, and of payments to be made to instrumental teachers;
h. Supervise the reporting by the teachers of pupils' progress;
i. Allocate accommodation to instrumental staff, and keep them in touch with departmental and school matters in general;
j. Organise appropriate external examinations (Associated Board, etc);
k. Allocate practice facilities for pupils.

MUSICAL SOCIETIES AND ACTIVITIES

a. Organise adequate musical societies, activities and groups to foster the collective music-making of members of the school;
b. Provide staffing, equipment and material for such work, and allocate rehearsal times and accommodation;
c. Recruit and encourage participation in the societies and activities;
d. Harmonise the work of the musical groups with the life of the school as a whole;
e. Organise internal competitions, if appropriate.

CONCERTS, AND OCCASIONS DEMANDING MUSIC

a. Arrange a programme of concerts for each school year, necessary financing, and staffing (including, if need be, engagement of outside professionals);
b. Be responsible for the musical content of internal concerts, and for the general management of all concerts. (NB. Concerts and other musical events, quite apart from their intrinsic value, are a very important 'shop-window' for the school, and it is essential that standards of music and organisation are as high as possible.)
c. Organise music for special occasions (e.g. prize days);
d. [In conjunction with the Chaplain, devise a schedule of Chapel Music for each term's services and arrange for its implementation, including any necessary congregational practices.]

MUSIC SCHOLARSHIPS, ETC.

a. Organise examinations for Music scholarships;
b. Be responsible for the attendant publicity, and communication with 'feeder' schools;
c. Recommend to the Head suitable pupils for election;
d. Encourage other musical pupils to enter the school, by stimulating contacts with staff in preparatory and primary schools;
e. Supervise the musical education of Music scholars once elected, and harmonise it with their other activities by close consultation with the Head and other members of staff.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSISTANT MUSIC STAFF

a. Be responsible for training and guidance of Music staff.
b. Assist and advise about promotion, career prospects, suitable courses, etc.;
c. Generally offer pastoral care and advice.

FINANCE

a. Prepare an estimate for the Head/Bursar of the following year's departmental expenditure;

b. Control departmental spending so that music allowance is not overspent."

(28)

We can deduce from this 'Job Definition' how much the function of the director of music has developed from the work of the late nineteenth century directors mentioned earlier in the chapter. The next three chapters will demonstrate how some of these requirements have been carried out.

In 1988 twenty-five directors of music in the eastern region of HMC were surveyed. Out of an average of a forty period week, they claimed to be teaching, on

average, a twenty-five period week - substantially less than most heads of music in the maintained sector. A large proportion of this teaching time was likely to be individual teaching. Class music, apart from examination work, would only be a small part of the teaching load. They also claimed to be spending, on average, nine-and-a-half hours per week on administrative duties, other than lesson preparation, marking etc. Nine hours were spent in musical activities every week.

Better pay, conditions, status, facilities and equipment have led to a great gulf between the heads of music in the two sectors of secondary education. One sector has almost to be self-reliant in musical provision whilst the other looks to the L.E.A. to provide instrumental teaching, instruments and back up support. But there are now acute problems of sustaining this service due to the present government's legislation requiring state schools to manage their own budgets. This decision is already leading to some peripatetic instrumental teachers being made redundant. The gulf between the two sectors of education has in some cases been exacerbated by some County Authorities having gone so far as to discriminate against pupils from Independent Schools when awarding places in youth orchestras and groups.

There are many contemporary directors of music doing an excellent job, but because they are considered to be perpetuating and developing an inherited system which has evolved from individual rather than class teaching, some feel they have little to offer to educational debate. This is a view which is unjustified. At the moment there is no representative on the music working group for the National Curriculum nor musician on the Independent Schools Curriculum Committee. The majority of public school directors of music have after initial misgivings, as we shall discover in chapter six, been keen to implement recent curriculum initiatives.

The attempts by some heads of music in the maintained sector to emulate their public school equivalents have been deemed, by some musical educators, to have had a detrimental influence on the progress of musical education. They consider that the concentration on extra-curricular activities has been at the expense of the musical education of the majority. More will be said in chapter six on this matter.

Increased cross fertilization of ideas can only be of advantage to both sectors of education. But it must be acknowledged that music departments in each sector have different problems and it is how these should best be approached to the benefit of all their pupils which should

be the central issue.

As A.H.Peppin wrote in 1927;

> "a public school training does not begin or end in the classroom. . . the public school product is intended to be an example of all-round development, physical, mental and moral: that is its ideal."
>
> (29)

This similar argument was to be used sixty years later by Geoffrey Walford in his book 'Life in Public Schools', when he said:

> "A public school is not simply a school with facilities for pupils to board. The fact that pupils live at the school structures and influences the curriculum and the ways in which teaching and learning proceed in the classroom."
>
> (30)

The aim of musical education which has been common to all directors of music from the time of John Farmer and Paul David, I would say, is the encouragement of practical musical involvement for personal enjoyment, fulfilment and awakening of inner feeling and emotions. No two public schools are exactly alike in every way and directors of music have always had to be more adaptable and pragmatic than many of their colleagues.

John Thorn, former headmaster of Winchester and the most recent public school headmaster to write an autobiography says:

"In musical as in other parts of education ..... you cannot achieve everything that is thought to be desirable.....A school decides what it cannot provide and what it must provide as well as it can. So it is with a music department: it cannot do all that everyone would like. It can only do some things. The head of music and the head of the school decide on the priorities. They cannot expect all the music teachers to agree that they are the right ones."

(31)

In the next three chapters we shall survey the development of three specific areas of musical education to see how the aims and objectives of the headmasters and directors of music discussed in the last three chapters have been put into practice. Education is not limited to that which takes place in a classroom therefore chapters four and five are concerned with the growth of extra-curricular activities; chapter four examining 'Vocal and Choral Music' and chapter five 'Instrumental Music'. However, in the final chapter we shall study the views of the public schools on 'Music in the Curriculum' and consider how they are responding to recent classroom innovations in school music.

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CHAPTER FOUR

VOCAL MUSIC

The growth of interest in vocal music which had begun with the work of Hullah and then Curwen, the Victorian mania for oratorios, the religious revivals in the nineteenth century, the recommendations of the Public Schools Commission and, later on in the century, the conviction that school songs and hymns could have a tremendous impact on the minds of young men, all led to an increasing provision for vocal music in public schools.

It would therefore seem only natural that the first impetus for musical improvement in the Victorian public school should come from the formation of choirs. The majority of the schools were Anglican foundations, or at least affiliated, and it was therefore inevitable, given the interest being shown by the parish churches, that they should follow suit and provide choirs for their chapels. We have seen how even before the Clarendon Commission met, schools had begun to show interest in the musical side of the worship. During the headmastership of Dr.Wordsworth (1836-1844) at Harrow an attempt had been made by his wife to establish a choir and Charterhouse had a choir made up of 40 to 50 boys trained by John Hullah which chanted psalms and sang an anthem and gave a concert

each year.

Other choirs whose dates of foundation are certain are: Mill Hill (1830), Radley (1847), Marlborough (1848), Bradfield (1850), Cheltenham (1858), Ardingly (1859), Clifton (1862), Lancing (1862), Shrewsbury (1865) and Felsted (1867). By the end of the century it would have been considered unusual for a school not to have a chapel choir.

The following extracts from 'The Public Schools Year Books' in the last decades of the nineteenth century demonstrate this growing attention to vocal music and choirs:

> Choral Singing: Instruction is given without extra charge. (Blackheath 1893).

> Choral singing is taught in school time for two half-hours a week by the Precentor, without extra charge, to any boy whose voice or ear is considered sufficiently good. Those who do not sing and who are not in Rifle Corps are obliged to drill for a corresponding time.The choir is formed from the College boys and is trained by the Precentor. (Bradfield 1889).

> There are also a "Concert Choir" including about half the school and a small chapel choir, consisting of the best voices. (Bromsgrove 1893).

> Singing is taught to all boys in the Prep School, and also to the Chapel Choir. There is also a Choral and Orchestral Society, for which there is a small charge. (Clifton 1893).

Entrance scholarships for music: (a) for boys with good voices able to assist with Chapel Choir; (b) for boys trained at a good choir school who intend to make music one of their chief studies.
(Derby 1900).

The services are fully choral. All boys who can sing enter the Choral Class, and a select number form the Chapel Choir. (Dover 1893).

The choir to which great attention is given, consists of about 100 voices, and is conducted by the Rector. (Edinburgh Academy 1899).

Great attention is paid to music, and the choir numbers over 60 boys. (Epsom College 1898).

There is a large Glee Club with an orchestra, for Sacred and Secular music. No extra payment is made for this, except for the music used.
(Felsted 1891).

At the end of the Easter term there is a 'Singing Competition' when prizes are given for solo singing, House Quartettes, and occasionally for the best accompaniment. (Haileybury 1889).

A choral society is formed in the Winter Term of each year, open to all members of the school, and conducted by the Music Master. (Ipswich 1893).

There is also a school choir, a choral society, and a society which meets on Sunday evening in the Chapel for the practice of Sacred Music.
(King William's, Isle of Man 1893).

All boys capable of so doing learn singing. Juniors have a singing practice daily, and there are three full choir practices every week (two being on Saturday and Sunday evenings), besides practice hours for the separate parts. . The music sung by the choir is almost exclusively Handelian, or Anthems by old English composers, Anglican chants, Hymns and Scottish Psalms.
(Loretto 1889).

> Music is encouraged also by training a choir and orchestra for the Church services and for other occasions. (Stonyhurst 1900).

> The choir is limited to 18 Trebles, 4 Altos, 6 Tenors and 6 Basses. (Tonbridge 1893).

Most schools had compulsory chapel services every morning and twice on a Sunday, so it was only to be expected that the major musical influence and possibly instruction, was to be found here. Many chapels possessed fine organs and the boys would frequently hear arrangements of much of the standard orchestral repertoire and arias from oratorios, such as recommended by the headmaster of Christ's Hospital in 1905:

> "I venture to offer to all the school organists the suggestion that they should make the most of the great opportunity daily given them in their voluntaries of educating the boys, and familiarizing them with the great masterpieces of music." (1)

Although Woodard had forbidden the singing of music by Victorian composers in the school chapels of his foundation, by the latter part of the century all of them had a good four-part choir with a large repertoire. At Ardingly in the 1870s the choir had a repertoire of 13 Evening Services and 102 Anthems and they rehearsed daily for the first half-hour of the morning.

"An Anthem was sung in Chapel every week-night, as well as on Sunday evenings and a fine Choral Communion Service was the great joy of every Sunday and Saints' Day morning." (2)

At Hurstpierpoint the choir had a repertoire of 17 Evening Services, 64 Anthems and 9 Communion Services by 1870 (3), whilst at Worksop the Evening Services were all 'fully choral' within a few months of the foundation of the school in 1895 (4).

Chapel choirs, with the exception of Winchester and Eton, were no longer seen as an elitist body, and many increased considerably in size. Uppingham was probably the first school to have a chapel choir of great size. Thring wrote in his Diary for Nov.5th 1864, that he had just been reminded of the first beginnings of the choir;

"Six boys in a little room behind the hall, and now - the new schoolroom and half a hundred. How little the masters realise these things, or what it was to face the world then, to conceive the plan, and work it through." (5)

Later Parkin was to write:

"The school choir, with its hundred or more trained voices, gave life and beauty to the chapel services." (6)

Other school choirs whose numbers have been recorded show a similar size:

Oundle - 130 (1909);
Rugby - 125 (1905);
Christ's Hospital - 112 (1905);
Edinburgh Academy -100 (1899);
Epsom - 60 (1898).

Farmer considered that it was not possible to have a chapel choir due to

> "the advanced age at which boys now enter Harrow. Thus it is that . . . it would be difficult to find six trebles who could sing above G." (7)

When Ivimey went to Harrow in 1890 he found that the

> "Chapel choir in the organ gallery consisted of forty or fifty boys selected more on account of their position in the school than for their vocal attainments. There was no part-singing, all the chants and hymns were in unison, and the choir sang lustily and with a good courage." (8)

C.F.Abdy Williams, director of music at Bradfield, in an article in the 'Journal of Education' for 1897, on 'Music in the Public Schools', gives us an insight into the organisation of the public school chapel choir at that time:

> "The chapel choir is expected to sing two ordinary services every Sunday, and probably a short one every week-day. Boys who have voices join the choir either by compulsion or voluntarily. The practices are usually taken out of play time." (9)

Further evidence that music had been gaining in prestige during the century, in some schools, comes in the following extract from the same article:

> "Of course some schools are far-sighted enough to see that a good choir is a considerable advantage, and that no good results are possible without plenty of time for practice, and plenty of encouragement. But there are others which do not see this. . . " (10)

Abdy Williams also gives his opinions on the type of music which he feels should be performed in chapel. Once again we see this determination of the public schools to allow their boys to experience only what they considered to be "good" music. We also see that the idea of "muscular Christianity" even influenced the type of music performed in chapel:

> "It is, of course, of the utmost importance that the music selected should be the very best practicable, and that all weak and sentimental stuff, merely "made to sell," should be rigorously excluded, for this kind of music will most certainly tend to effeminacy and laziness. Good strong rhythm and good masculine thoughts have great attractions for healthy and athletic English boys". (11)

With a few exceptions the anthems sung in chapel would be by Victorian composers and would frequently be choruses from oratorios or cantatas. This last statement is supported by studying Table 1 (Appendix page 216), 'Music performed in Framlingham College Chapel from 1889-1900', which would be typical of the repertoire of music

being sung in public schools during the late nineteenth century.

The headmaster of Christ's Hospital, the Rev.Arthur W.Upcott writing in 'The Musical Times' in September 1905 gave his views on the musical problems which existed in the contemporary public school chapel:

> "In the school Chapel there is the constant difficulty of deciding between the claims of choir and congregation. Some would have a perfectly trained choir and an attentive but silent congregation; others would prefer to hear every one "joining in." I think it is possible to find a "half way," or better, a "three-quarter way" meeting point - three-quarters of the musical part of the service being such as all can take part in, and a quarter, say, rendered by choir alone in the very best possible way. By such an arrangement you may get 'the quarter' to set a standard towards which the 'three-quarters' will unconsciously be drawn."
>
> (12)

However, a contributor to the 1898 history of Harrow School could only envisage two types of services in the school chapel:

> "There are, it seems to me, only two ways in which a school chapel service can be made deeply impressive and influential upon boys' minds. One is when the service is conducted with much of the artistic elaboration that is felt to be appropriate to a Cathedral; but this is impossible, except in some few schools. The other is when it appeals by its simplicity to the co-operation of the boys. An intermediate service between these seems to fail. The congregational character of the service at Harrow has often struck visitors. The chants are simple. The hymns are familiar. The singing is in unison. The responding is left to the congregation as a whole. It cannot be justly said that the effect is artistic. But it will not be regarded as

> unsuccessful, if it induces the largest number of boys to feel themselves partners in the devotions and supplications of public worship. And I do not know any school chapel in which divine service is so general, so heartfelt, so inspiring."
>
> (13)

Other headmasters were to see further alternatives - that of turning the whole school into the choir, or of having a chapel choir of considerable size and writing an independent 'non-choir' part so that the whole school could be involved with musical settings and choruses.

The founder of Loretto School, H.H.Almond, whose views on music have already been mentioned, devoted so much time to the singing in chapel that all other forms of music were almost excluded. Two anthems were performed every Sunday, as well as Psalms sung to Anglican chants, hymns "of the robust type," (14) Scottish metrical psalms and settings of canticles by "Stanford, Parry, and others." (15) A custom of chapel worship was established which still continues today. At least three-quarters of the school formed the choir and all the parts received separate rehearsals.

Sanderson of Oundle also believed that every boy should take an active musical part in the services. All boys had a copy of the music that was being sung -

> "chants, hymns, settings of the canticles and anthems." (16)

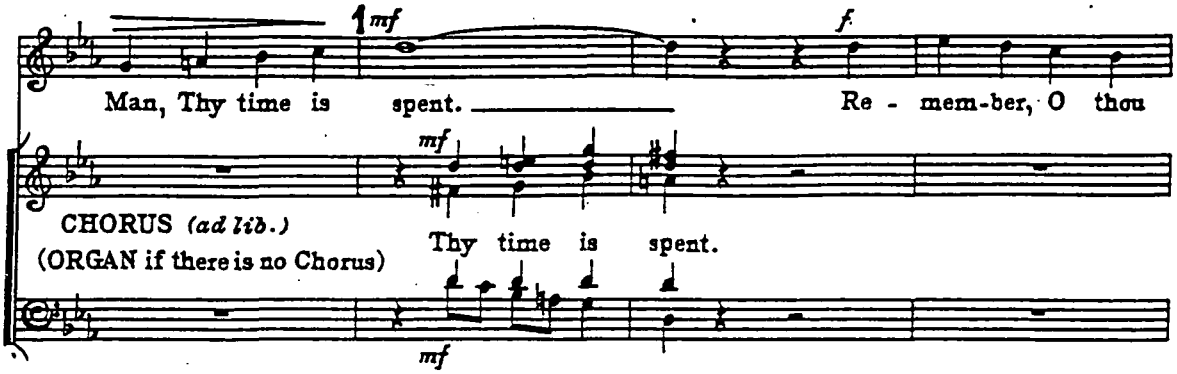
Sanderson appreciated that there were boys who seemed to lack the ability to sing in tune in addition to those with breaking voices. These he formed into what was called the 'non-choir', which had a part written specially for it, as Spurling testified:

> "Every boy sings in every part of the service, and this is one of the ways in which he learns to read music. At the weekly full school practices for the services the non-choir are often practised alone in their part, which may be the tune, sung an octave lower, of course or some special part."
>
> (17)

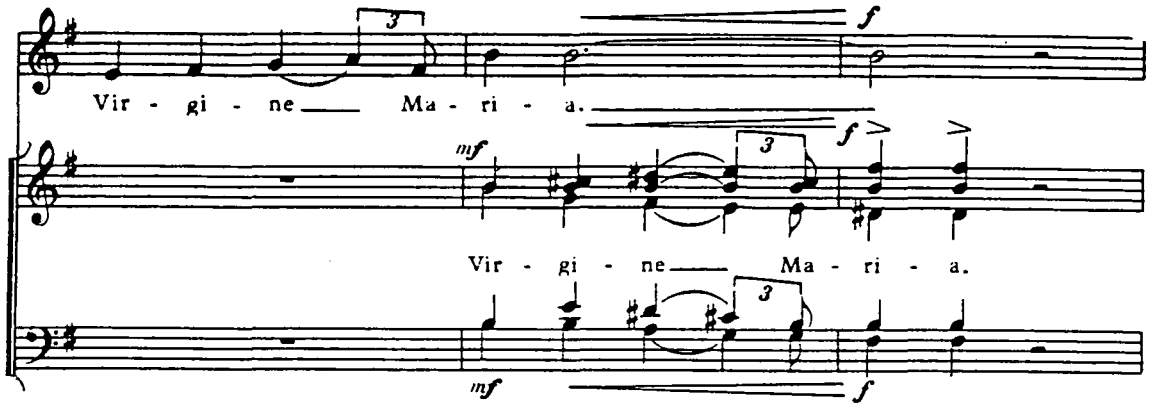
Late in the 1920s Clifton was to follow Oundle's lead and arrangements were made by the then assistant music master C.S.Lang (1921-1929) of Stanford's Morning and Evening Service in B flat for S.A.T.B. with separate congregational part. These arrangements, along with other original works for this combination, are still in use today in many public school chapels.

Lang was to write a number of works for unison voices, choir and organ whilst at Clifton and later at Christ's Hospital, where he was director of music. Amongst them are 'Tres Magi de Gentibus' (1925); Remember, O Thou Man (1928); Hail, gladdening light (1936) and a setting of 'Psalm 8'. All exhibit a sturdy homogenous style lacking in much musical interest, but well crafted for the available resources. In nearly all of them words from part of the unison phrase are repeated by the choir high in their register:

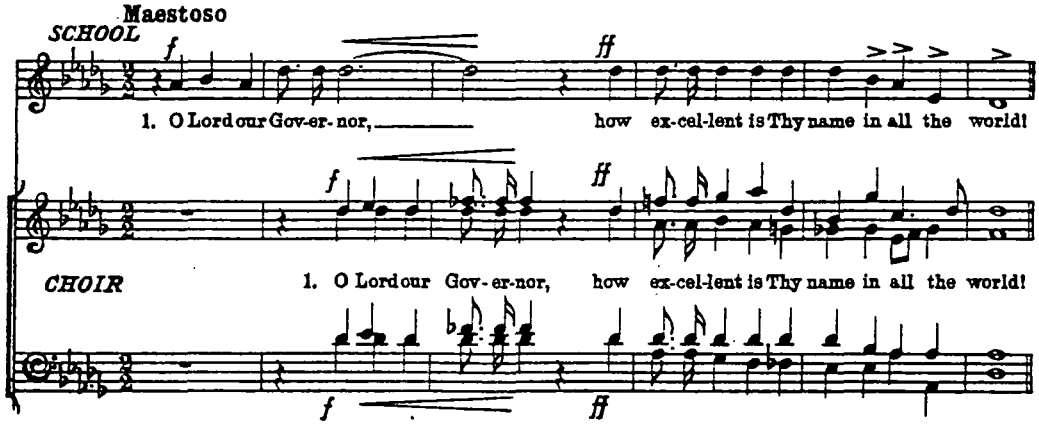
Example 1: (Remember, O Thou Man).



Example 2: (Tres Magi de Gentibus).



Example 3: (Psalm 8).



The interest in congregational singing in chapel led to the call for a hymn book especially compiled for use in the public school. Altogether there have been four editions of the 'Public School Hymn Book' now known as 'Hymns for Church and School' (1903, 1919, 1949 and 1960) with a supplement added in 1985 'Praise and Thanksgiving'. The editorial body has always been under the chairmanship of one of the members of the Headmasters' Conference and there have always been at least two directors of music serving on the committee.

Even in the current edition there is a strong representation of hymns written in the early twentieth century style of Parry, Holst, Vaughan Williams or Howells, with broad, robust melodies accompanied by fulsome harmonies. In the first edition of the hymn book in 1903 none of the hymns was specifically designed for unison singing, but out of the 389 tunes in the 1960 edition, 90 are specially written for unison singing. The proportion in the 1985 supplement 'Praise and Thanksgiving' is even greater: 43 unison tunes out of 93.

Table 2 (Appendix page 218) shows the high proportion of tunes composed by directors of music in the recent edition of the 'Public School Hymn Book' ('Hymns for Church and School') and the new supplement 'Praise and Thanksgiving'. It would be fair to say that only three of

them are in common use outside the public schools: Buck's 'Gonfalon Royal'; Ferguson's 'Wolvercote' and Greatorex's 'Woodlands'.

The existence of a chapel choir in a school was originally seen by most as purely an aid to worship and few were concerned with the educational benefits that may accrue. But headmasters and music masters were quick to see that these choirs could form the nucleus of a larger body of singers and in doing so would provide musical instruction for a large number of boys. These choral groups would, more often than not, provide the boys with the only musical education given at the school other than individual tuition.

Before bringing the survey of the development of chapel music up to date, it is appropriate at this juncture to break off and look at other aspects of vocal music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century public school.

Massed unison singing, whether by houses or full school, was to be taken up with great zeal by schools in the late nineteenth century, a phenomenon which lasted well into the twentieth century.

Some music masters followed Farmer's model at

Harrow and instituted 'In-House Singing' whilst others organized voluntary communal 'Sing-Songs' in the evening. These home-made entertainments usually included choruses, folk-songs, solo songs and specially written school songs. Many schools had published their own song-book for such evenings and words or melodies or both were often taken from other schools and altered to suit their own requirements. As well as at Harrow, substantial volumes of songs were produced at Bedford, Eton, Sedbergh and Uppingham.

These songs fall into two main groups: those which exalt the school or evoke patriotic feeling, and those which extol games or concern topics of special interest to young boys. Headmasters were quick to appreciate that by writing words for songs they had a potent force in which they could enunciate their ideals and convey the ethos of the school. H.M.Butler stated that these songs were

> "of quite extraordinary value in promoting good fellowship among the boys and in forging links of love and loyalty between the passing generations of Harrow men." (18)

Thring also wrote a number of songs for his director of music to set to music including 'The cricket Song', 'The Fives Song', 'The Rockingham Match', 'The Uppingham Chorus' and 'Echoes of Uppingham'.

"These songs so full of idealism and enthusiasm - how he delighted in hearing these rendered by a hundred youthful voices. there, at least he thought some of the sacred fire that burned in his heart had caught the hearts of the boys." (19)

It was in the latter part of the nineteenth century that the majority of 'School Songs' were written, all with the intention of uniting the boys into one exclusive brotherhood. The fact that the majority were in Latin further made manifest to the outside world that the boys were members of a much larger family - the public school.

In the early twentieth century Peppin was to take the idea of 'In-House' singing even further and suggested that twice in a term the whole school should be brought together, masters and boys, for an hour for community singing.

"Familiarity with the best folk melody is as sound a basis as exists for the musical taste either of connoisseurs or ordinary folk, and there are no better means of introducing it to both than well-managed unison singing." (20)

In the winter term of 1918 'School Singing' was introduced at Clifton. However the director of music had such a problem controlling the massed voices musically, especially as many were seated in a gallery, that a trumpeter and side-drummer had to be placed in the corner

of the front row of the gallery.

Thus

> "by means of a loud and clear melodic line, together with a relentless and powerful rhythm,"

the conductor was able

> "to achieve a reasonable degree of unanimity between platform and gallery . . . "
> (21)

Concert programmes from around this time frequently included the performance of unison songs by the whole school and in some cases complete concerts were given in this manner.

It was soon discovered that music could not only be used as a vehicle to convey House or School spirit but could also be used to harness the boys' natural inclination to competition in much the same way as games, and thus further the boy's loyalty to his house. In the same way that directors of music used the boys' natural inclination for competition to organise 'House Instrumental Competitions', so 'House Singing Competitions' came into being.

Today many schools still hold these competitions and they continue to be as hard fought as they ever were.

The format of the competition in each school may be slightly different but it is likely that the House will have to be represented in each, or a combination of some of the following categories: (a) A Part-Song; (b) A Unison Song, which may or may not include the whole House; (c) A Solo Song, sung by a member of the House.

I cannot say with any certainty which was the first school to establish a choral society but we do know that Winchester's was founded in 1864 and Clifton and Rugby formed theirs a year later. It would also seem likely that David would have instituted such a group soon after his arrival at Uppingham in 1865, if in fact it did not already exist.

In many cases these choral groups received no financial support from the school and were organized by the boys, with the aid of a few interested masters, who paid an extra charge and employed a conductor, who was usually the music master. Thus they existed under the name of Glee Club, Musical Society, Choral Society, Concert Choir or even Choral Class. The Glee Club at Winchester and the Choral Society at Clifton even raised funds for the provision of an organ to accompany their concerts.

Alan Rannie in his book 'The story of music at Winchester College 1394-1969', gives an excellent account

of the development of the Glee Club. Since its progress is probably typical of most, both in terms of numbers and works performed, it is worth tracing.

Although records do not exist of how many members were in the original Glee Club, we do know it was small. The club rehearsed twice a week and membership was voluntary. For the first three years the concerts consisted of sacred choruses in the first half of the programme and secular madrigals, glees and part-songs of the English and German Schools in the second.

But from December 1867 onwards the first half of each concert became devoted to a single work, such as a cantata, or a large section of an oratorio.

The following is a list of works performed by the Winchester Glee Club between the years 1876 and 1900, and shows the popularity of choral works by Handel and Mendelssohn at this time:

> Barnett 'Building of a Ship' and 'Ancient Mariner' (2); Beethoven 'Mass in C'; Brahms 'Liebeslieder'; Goodhart 'Sir Andrew Barton'; Handel 'Acis and Galatea', 'L'Allegro', 'Messiah' (3), 'Judas Maccabeus' (2) and 'Alexander's Feast' (3); Haydn 'Creation' (2) and 'Mass in C'; Jackson 'Lord Ullin's Daughter'; Jensen 'Feast of Adonis'; Mendelssohn 'Elijah' (4), 'St.Paul' (3),'Hymn of Praise' (2), 'Psalm 95', 'Lauda Sion', 'Athalie' and 'Walpurgis Night'; Mozart 'Splendente te Deus' and 'Requiem Mass', Spohr 'God, Thou art great' and 'Last judgement'; Stainer 'Daughter of Jairus'; Stanford 'Revenge' and Sullivan 'Prodigal Son'.
>
> (22)

(We may recall from chapter three that Paul David also believed that boys should be given the opportunity of singing Handel and Mendelssohn).

In 1901 E.T.Sweeting became Master of the Music and the number in Glee Club was usually around 90. He concentrated more on secular works, adding the following to the repertoire:

> Mendelssohn 'Israel in Egypt' (the only oratorio he added); Balfour Gardiner 'News from Whydah'; Hubert Bath 'Wedding Shon Maclean'; Coleridge-Taylor 'Hiawatha's Wedding Feast and Departure'; Elgar 'Banner of St.George'; Gluck 'Orpheus (Act.2)'; Grieg ' Olav Trygvason'; Haydn 'Spring' from 'The Seasons'; Parry 'Blest pair of sirens' and 'Pied Piper'; Stanford 'Battle of the Baltic' and 'Songs of the Fleet'; Vaughan Williams 'Fantasia on Christmas Carols'. (23)

In the latter part of Dyson's time at Winchester (1924-1937) the

> "Glee Club reached an all time record of 176, thus about 40% of the school was involved in Concert, as against 25% in 1911, a typical Sweeting year." (24)

Dyson substantially transformed the Club's repertoire and concentrated on only twelve works which were rotated on a six year cycle.

> "The list was as follows:
>
> Purcell 'King Arthur', 'Diocletian Masque' and 'Fairy Queen'; Bach 'Christmas Oratorio'; Handel

'Messiah', 'Judas Maccabeus', 'Acis and Galatea'; Haydn 'Creation'; Mozart 'Requiem'; Wagner 'Meistersingers'; Bizet 'Carmen'."

(25)

These show that the Glee Club was now normally performing a complete choral work and taking up a whole concert instead of only a part.

In the 1920s Oundle once more gave a lead to other schools and developed further the idea of massed singing which had been such a success in their chapel services. The well-known singer Carrie Tubb, who had a son at the school, persuaded Sanderson to involve the whole school in a performance of 'Messiah'. As might be expected Sanderson threw all his influence and energies into this project which finally came to fruition in 1921.

For these performances a special part was arranged from certain choruses for a large body of unison singers and the school was divided into chorus, non-choir, and orchestra. Speaking in 1927 Spurling said that there had been "approximately 290 boys" in the chorus and "250 boys in the non-choir." (26) The chorus contained 100 Trebles and 100 Basses, and Altos and Tenors were divided equally between the rest. He rehearsed the Trebles and Altos separately for one hour every week and the Tenors and Basses together for the same amount of time. The 'non-choir' met three times a week for ten minutes after

morning prayers.

Thus a tradition was established which was to last until 1971.

> "Since 1921 there were altogether 15 performances of B Minor Mass, 11 of Messiah, 5 of Christmas Oratorio and 3 each of Mozart Requiem and St.Matthew Passion. There were one each of Brahms and Verdi Requiems as well as a number of smaller works." (27)

It is easy for the purist to criticise these performances as a travesty of the composer's original intention but they were not particularly intended for public consumption and many boys had the experience of being involved with music making, which, as stated at the end of the last chapter, has been one of the major aims of public school music education since the 1860s. As Arthur Marshall, a former pupil and master at the school, wrote

> ". . a vast corporate effort that was much relished by all. It meant that boys on the way to bed or to have a bath could be heard happily humming Bach, which can't be bad, and the Mass stayed with them for life. It also inspired interest in other composers and the afternoon voluntary Musical Appreciation classes (gramophone records and chat) filled up." (28).

But there was such an interest taken in these performances that in 1921, 1928, 1933 and 1934 they were broadcast. Vaughan Williams found the performances so exhilarating that for the 1927 performance of the Mass in B minor he

re-orchestrated the "Quoniam" so that all the basses could sing it.

Amongst the schools who were to follow Oundle's example were Malvern and Clifton; though in most cases the non-choirs' involvement was usually confined to the singing of the chorales in Bach's Passions or Cantatas, or one or two choruses from 'Messiah'.

Between 1924 and 1930 'The Musical Times' published, three or four times a year, a list of choral works performed in public schools which I have collated into Table 3 (Appendix page 220). The lists were originally compiled from information provided by the schools and are therefore not exhaustive as some schools would not have contributed. I have tried, where the information has been clear, only to include complete or near complete performances of works. Most schools performed some part of 'Messiah' at the appropriate time of year and many performed only one of the cantatas from the 'Christmas Oratorio' and these have not been included.

In the 'Mirror of Music - Volume 1' Scholes has compiled a similar list taken from programmes published in the Musical Times of October and November 1926, given by amateur choral societies. I give here the list of composers, in order, giving the number of times the

composers works were performed:

Choral works performed by Amateur Choral Societies in 1926.

Handel (62); Bach (44); Elgar (38); Mendelssohn (35); Coleridge-Taylor (30); Parry (18); Vaughan Williams (15); Bizet (14); Stanford (13); Brahms (11); Verdi (9); Dvorak (9); Haydn (8); Wagner (8); Sullivan (7); Holst (7); Beethoven (7);Gounod (6); Harty (6); German (5); Berlioz (5). (29)

Comparing this list with Table 3, perhaps the most surprising result is the greater popularity of Bach and Stanford with the public schools. This to some extent is due to the frequent entries by Oundle School of Bach's larger scale works and the fact that during the 1920s the Ley's School, Cambridge, annually gave a concert of Bach's Cantatas. It is also because the cantatas of Bach and the choral works of Stanford are short works and would therefore be more popular with a school choir than with the large amateur choral societies.

Another conclusion from these lists is that, with the exception of Bach's 'Mass in B minor' and Mozart's 'Requiem', the Mass as a choral work or works in Latin at this period were not popular with either group. Excluding Handel, both the above list and Table 3 show a higher proportion of British than foreign works, thus:

Amateur Choral Societies: 133 British / 102 Foreign. The difference is even more marked with the public schools: 288 British / 192 Foreign. The steadfast and resolute musical style of Stanford, Parry and Coleridge Taylor was bound to find a spiritual home with the pre-Second World War public schoolboy with their ideals of the Empire and masculinity.

Table 4 (Appendix page 222) is again taken from information given in 'The Musical Times', this time for the years 1945 - 1958. In the last two years of the column's existence the editor lists only those works which are of interest rather than a complete list, I therefore did not include the years 1959 and 1960 in the survey. Also I have not listed those composers whose works achieved less than four performances.

Comparing Tables 3 and 4 we can see that the most marked difference since the Second World War is probably in the increase of performance of large scale choral works performed in public schools and the decline in popularity of works by British composers, which to some extent reflects the changing ethos of the schools after the War. Excluding Handel there were 222 performances of British works and 202 by foreign composers, though I have included in the list a few anthems of interest by British composers. The large scale works which show a marked

increase included Bach's 'St.Matthew Passion', Mozart's 'Requiem', Faure's 'Requiem' and Verdi's 'Requiem'. Those composers who show a decline in popularity include Stanford, Mendelssohn, Balfour Gardiner, Wagner, Holst, Grieg and Thomas Wood.

Today most schools have a choral society and it is frequently seen by the authorities as an opportunity for involving parents and the local community in a school activity. It is also common practice for schools to join together to perform a choral work and girls only schools are obviously keen to have this opportunity, though with the majority of public schools now taking a large proportion of girls there is not so much necessity to seek help from outside with the soprano and alto line.

Although, from time to time, the school choral society may perform works lasting only a few minutes, it is more usual to work towards performance of a large scale work at least once a year. Looking through the 1989 prospectuses it would seem that the most popular of these are:

Handel 'Messiah'; Haydn 'Creation'; Verdi 'Requiem'; Brahms 'Requiem'; Elgar 'Dream of Gerontius', Bach 'St.Matthew Passion' and Orff 'Carmina Burana'.

Most schools are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain a large choral society. A greater

variety of leisure time pursuits, television and more demands on free time have made choral singing a less attractive option. Although some works by Handel and Haydn may have some appeal the style and some of the sentiments expressed in many works by Stanford and Parry and their contemporaries are now outdated. Many works written in the last two decades, because of their angular vocal lines and intricate rhythms, are often difficult to grasp and frequently require experienced singers to give an acceptable performance.

Involving such large numbers a choral society needs a considerable amount of support from colleagues as well as a director of music of enthusiasm and energy. There is a national concern that numbers of school pupils involved in choral activities have declined over the last two decades, hence a recent survey by the Association of British Choral Directors, which has not yet published its findings, to try and ascertain the current situation. The decline seems even more marked in the maintained sector where the growth in instrumental activity appears to have been at the expense of choral activities. Only just over half of the LEAs surveyed in 1986 ran choirs at their Music Centres, believing that it was the responsibility of the individual schools to provide this type of musical activity. (30)

During the past century there has been an increasing number of public school boys gaining choral awards to Oxford and Cambridge. Up until the early part of the twentieth century many Oxford and Cambridge College chapels employed Lay Clerks to sing the choral services, now most use Choral Scholars and Exhibitioners. Only Christ Church and New College, Oxford still employ Lay Clerks, but even there they only form half of the adult forces.

Table 5 (Appendix page 225) is a list of those who gained Choral Awards before the Second World War from HMC schools, from information given in the 'Public Schools Year Books' between 1889 and 1940. The list may not be exhaustive, but it does however indicate a growth of interest by public schools in these awards and is also a further indication of the sustained interest in chapel choirs during the period before the Second World War, as well as the growth in prestige of the subject with the schools and universities

In 1980 Ralph Allwood, the present Precentor of Eton College, founded the Uppingham Choral Course, which is now held annually at Eton;

> "to offer coaching and advice to prospective Oxbridge choral and organ scholars."
> (31)

College organists realise that most public schools maintain a chapel choir and they look to them for candidates. Choral Scholars from the maintained sector are very much in the minority in Oxbridge chapel choirs.

Oundle also annually hosts a week's 'Organ Festival', one of its courses is intended primarily for prospective Oxbridge organ scholars. Links therefore between Oxbridge and public school directors of music remain very strong.

The 1960s and '70s saw some public schools abandoning their traditional compulsory Sunday Worship for the whole school. In some, attendance at chapel is voluntary and in others it may be compulsory only on occasional Sundays during the term. Weekend exeats are also now quite common. Despite all this most schools have managed to continue a strong tradition of chapel music, mainly of a traditional type. Choirs will often sing evensongs in a cathedral or go on tour and this is seen as an excellent public relations exercise by the school.

The list of music performed in Framlingham College Chapel between 1988 and 1990, Table 6 (Appendix page 230), shows that public school pupils are now encountering a wide range of musical styles from the sixteenth to the twentieth century rather than from a

restricted period, which was the case in the late nineteenth century.This is not only as a result of the development of music in the public schools but a reflection of the increased repertoire of today's cathedral choirs which the schools have emulated.

Directors of music are keen to attract choristers from choir schools at the age of thirteen, especially those schools who have no girls. Eton, which no longer has a choir school of its own, offers large bursaries to ex-choristers. In turn the choir schools are keen to secure scholarships for their students, especially at the more prestigious schools.

Table 7 (Appendix page 231) lists the Music Awards given to boys from choir schools during the years 1982 - 1988. The information is taken from 'Choir Schools today'. We can see from this Table that there are strong links between the choir schools and the public schools and how the great majority leave the choir schools with awards.

It is difficult to make generalisations about choral music, or indeed any other type of music, in public schools. Their very independence means that they are all different in some respect, though possibly facing similar problems. As long as the chapel remains a force in the

public schools, maintaining a chapel choir should not be a problem. If the chapel does lose its status the choral tradition could disappear. This in turn would have a detrimental effect on Oxbridge chapel choirs and possibly many cathedral choirs.

Chapter 4 - References

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CHAPTER FIVE

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The results of the enquiry by the Public Schools Commission into the 'Great' Schools found that there was very little, if any, instrumental tuition being given in any of them. The emerging public schools, as was shown in chapter one, also made little provision for instrumental work, other than perhaps a fife and drum or brass band and a few piano lessons. Nineteenth century headmasters could readily accept the practical advantages of choral and vocal music in enhancing the chapel worship or conveying a feeling of School or House spirit, but few seem to have had any interest in seeing instrumental music develop. Piano lessons were usually provided because a school wished to obtain a resident organist and giving instrumental tuition ensured him a satisfactory income. In some cases it was the school's music society which employed a piano teacher, independent of the school authorities.

Before the turn of the century, instrumental tuition seems to have been limited to the piano, organ, violin and 'cello with only a very few schools, according to the 'Public Schools Year Books', offering tuition on wind instruments: Christ's Hospital; Clifton; Dulwich;

Felsted; Lancing; Uppingham and Wellington. However, as was mentioned above, a corps band of bugles, fifes and drums was not uncommon, so some schools employed a Bandmaster on a part time basis.

Harrow may possibly have been the first public school to form an orchestra for their concert in July 1858:

> "the programme opened bravely with "Pastoral" Symphony (Beethoven). But it was not Beethoven as we know him now, it was an arrangement for family use by Hutchins Calcott . . . . Our conductor led the first violins; the second violin opening (entrusted then to the English Concertina) . . . . (1)

Attempts at forming school orchestras were spasmodic and were, as just described, little more than an informal gathering of a few interested boys and masters. It was a case of bringing together all instrumentalists in the school, of whatever standard, to play arrangements of works with the missing parts being supplied by the harmonium, organ or piano.

The orchestra at Clifton in 1876 consisted of eight strings, flute, piano and organ, that of Ardingly in 1887 of three violins, viola, 'cello, piccolo and flute, cornet and a harmonium substituted for the double bass and two clarinets. A picture of the Worksop orchestra in 1898 shows eleven violins, 'cello, double bass, flute, three

clarinets, horn and cornet. Seven of the nineteen were masters, including the headmaster who played the double bass.

We may gather what these early orchestras sounded like from a report in the Ardingly Annals for May 1887. The first hour of the first rehearsal was spent in trying to tune to the harmonium, which was not at concert pitch. A witness to this event then tells us that;

> "If the Lost Chord is anything like the one we found that evening, may it always remain in oblivion!" (2)

In May 1882 an article appeared in 'The Musical Times' which claimed that Marlborough College, in its Orchestral Society Concert a few weeks back, was the first school to have

> "essayed the performance of symphonic music by a full orchestra." (3)

But it seems likely that many of the wind and brass players came from outside and it was not until after 1920, when the college purchased a set of low-pitch wind instruments, that the orchestra became firmly established. (4)

W.H.D.Rouse in his History of Rugby School (1898) gives a fulsome account of the school's music

which, if we can take it at face value, would place Rugby far ahead of all other schools at this time:

> ". . there is an orchestra of no mean repute, and a brass band. Moreover, quite a surprising number in the school learn to play on some musical instrument. Wind is generally a weak point in school orchestras; but Rugby has clarionets and oboes, horns and trumpets - ay, and a loud bassoon which makes many a listener beat his breast. Pepys would have been truly delighted with the woodwind. Rugby indeed is melodious with all manner of music; and if lute or viol hung in the barber's shop, as they used to do in the days of Good Queen Bess, hardly a lad but could turn his hand to it."
> (5)

Few schools had made any provision for music facilities before the latter part of the nineteenth century, even those which had been founded in the mid-nineteenth century. Until 1900 piano teaching at Haileybury took place "in a cupboard on the stairs."(6) It was often the case that the school organist provided the facilities for practice and lessons in his own private house. Even where music schools were provided little care seems to have been taken with their design. Ivimey writes about two schools which he visited before the first world war. In one the pianos were placed in a passage leading to the dormitories and in another some coal-cellars had been adapted for piano practice "by removing the coals." (7)

The following is a description of the first music school built at Wellington in 1877:

It "contained a number of cubicles, each one just large enough to hold a piano, a boy and a teacher . . No attempt had been made to render the walls sound-proof or anything like it, so that when the pianos, violins, 'cellos, and all kinds of music, were going on at once, the din was terrific." (8)

A new music school to replace an old "quaint building of two floors connected by a spiral staircase" was built at Harrow in 1891. (9) The architect had tried his best to make the practice rooms sound proof by providing double ceilings, double floors, double windows, and double doors. However in order to ventilate the rooms he designed an ingenious system using a zinc channel with openings in every room, which

"had the effect of huge speaking-tubes and conducted a whisper all over the building!" (10)

Marlborough used the same architect for their new music school in 1895, with the same disastrous results. This was replaced in 1925. Among the other schools who were to build, or convert old buildings into music schools around this time were: Clifton (1898); Winchester (1904); Christ's Hospital (1906); Eton (1908); Mill Hill (1912); Cheltenham (1917); Malvern (1919) and Rossall (1923).

By the early decades of the twentieth century instrumental music in some public schools had advanced so

much that interest was being taken in them in both musical and educational circles. In 1910 'The Public Schools Year Book' published the results of a survey of musical provision amongst seventy-five public schools representing 22,436 pupils. They ascertained that instrumental music was being taught in sixty-two schools, representing a total of 18,862 boys.

From this information they deduced that about one in six boys was learning an instrument of some sort, although they did acknowledge that numbers varied considerably from school to school. The article also lists the number of pupils learning each instrument in the sixty-two schools in 1910 which replied to the survey. This is of immense significance in determining the state of instrumental music in the public schools at the turn of the century. It can clearly be perceived that the piano was by far the most popular instrument. More importantly we can see that if other instruments were spread around sixty-two schools the state of public school orchestras must generally have been poor.

Numbers learning Instruments in Public Schools in 1910.

Pianoforte 2683	Oboe 6	Trombone 11
Violin 416	Clarinet 44	Timpani 3
Viola 21	Bass Clarinet 1	Harp 1
Cello 99	Bassoon 3	Organ 140
Double Bass 9	French Horn 12	Cornet 25
Flute 46	Trumpet 3	Horn 2
Euphonium 46		

(11)

If we categorize the instruments into their families this last point may be even clearer. It must be obvious that some schools were still only providing piano, or piano and violin tuition, even by 1910.

Numbers learning Instruments in 1910 according to category

Keyboard	2,823	Woodwind	102
Strings	546	Brass	99

(12)

We are fortunate that around the same time as the article on Public School Music appeared in the 'Public School year Book' for 1910, the numbers of pupils learning instruments at Oundle and Rugby were published in 'The Musical Times'. We can see from these sets of figures that these two schools showed a higher proportion of pupils learning instruments, than the average of one in six.

	Piano	Violin	'Cello	Woodwind	Organ	Total	School Roll.
Oundle (1909)	64	15	3	7	2	91	326
Rugby (1913)	98	25	11	33	5	172	570

(13)

Numbers of pupils learning woodwind and brass instruments seem low, in all the figures given, especially when we know that many schools, including Oundle and Rugby, employed a Bandmaster. But it would appear that

the serious study of brass instruments was thought unnecessary and that

> "a fair acquaintance with brass instruments can be gained without expending a great deal of time, because little training of muscles is involved." (14)

This could be the reason why numbers of brass players may sometimes not have been submitted to the 1910 'PSYB' survey. We do know that Eton excluded the members of the Brass Band of the College's Reserve Volunteers from the list of instrumentalists in an article on their music in 'The Musical Times' in 1908. The playing of wind and brass instruments hardly appears to have been encouraged in the public schools. The opinion of the contemporary directors of music seems to have been that whilst the Corps Band provided a good grounding in instrumental playing, the wind and brass parts "of the classical orchestra" were on the "whole impossible, and if classics "were to be attempted then "some degree of arrangement was unavoidable." (15)

By looking at the figures for instrumental candidates given by the Associated Board for their examinations in 1910 and 1914 we can see that the public schools provided a higher proportion of tuition on instruments other than the piano than was the case in the rest of the country. This could be due to the fact that

90% of the candidates were girls and playing the piano was considered one of the social attributes of a young lady.

Total entries for Associated Board Examinations in 1910 & 1914.

	1910	%	1914	%
Piano	16,259	83.6	20,343	82.4
Violin	1,197	6.2	1,234	5.0
Other instruments	117	.6	114	.4
Singing and Theory	1,868	9.6	3,007	12.2

(16)

During the early decades of the twentieth century numbers of instrumental pupils in public schools, as well as nationally, were increasing and tuition was becoming more and more accepted, though still regarded as an "extra". According to Ivimey in his book 'Boys and Music', it was from around 1890 that some headmasters began to allow boys in the junior forms to take instrumental lessons during school hours:

> . . this was a great advance and led to far more boys learning instruments, for it removed the fond parent's objection - robbing the boys of their playtime." (17)

Of the sixty-two schools in 1910 which provided instrumental tuition, thirty-four did not allow lessons to take place during school hours. (18) In the majority of cases pupils received two lessons of half an hour each, although at Uppingham the pupils received two lessons of

forty-five minutes' duration. (19)

Edward Lyttelton of Eton was one of the first headmasters to allow students to take one of the two weekly instrumental lessons during school hours, but at Clifton it was the boast of the music staff that music lessons and practice were

> "carried on without any interference with the just claims of school work or of athletics." (20)

Then, as now, the system of releasing pupils from class lessons was not without its opponents. One of the staunchest of these was the writer H.G.Wells, who in his book 'Mankind in the Making' made a bitter attack on instrumental tuition in schools:

> "Either the whole of the rest of the class must mark time at some unnecessary exercise until the missing member returns, or one child must miss some stage, some explanation that will involve a weakness, a lameness for the rest of the course of instruction . . Not only is the actual music lesson a nuisance in this way, but all day the school air is loaded with the oppressing tinkling of racked and rackety pianos. Nothing, I think, could be more indicative of the real value that the English School proprietor sets on school teaching than this easy admission of the music master to hack and riddle the curriculum into disconnected rags." (21)

Fifty of the sixty-two schools in the 1910 survey organized a practice routine for their pupils, many adopting the scheme first used by Peppin at Clifton of

insisting on a certain weekly minimum of practice. Each pupil was expected to enter in a large ledger, kept in the music school, the times when he practised. But the ledger not only contained a record of practice times but also details of every piece learned, with dates of beginning and finishing. This system remained in operation at Clifton right up to the Second World War.

A similar scheme operated at Uppingham where every boy was examined by Paul David at the end of term. Whilst at Oundle, Sanderson took the work of the music department so seriously as to insist upon a report from the music teachers of the boys' progress once a fortnight.

Numbers of pupils learning wind instruments increased after the First World War as public schools offered tuition on a wider range of instruments, as is testified in the following extract taken from an article in 'The Musical Times' for May 1925, about the musical competitions at Marlborough:

> "It is worthy of note, too, that the classes include one for wood-wind instruments solo (four entries - pieces by Bach, Hamm, Schubert, and Mozart); brass solo (five entries - Schubert, Mendelssohn, Gluck, Grieg, and Gounod); and chamber music and concerted wind or stringed instruments in not less than three parts. The latter drew four entries, constituted as follows: flute, oboe, clarinet, and saxophone; two flutes, clarinet, bassoon, and horn; violin, violoncello, and pianoforte, two cornets, horn, and euphonium. What a welcome change from the days when the handful of boys studying music rarely looked farther than the pianoforte! " (22)

By 1930 many schools had established good orchestras and A.Kalisch, writing in April 1930, put forward the suggestion of a combined public school orchestra:

> "One of the great features of public school life during the last ten years or so has been the growth of orchestras. There are, said my friend, at least a dozen schools within a hundred miles of London which have first-class bands - that is to say, first-class in the circumstances. . . . Eton, Harrow, Westminster, St.Paul's, City of London, Winchester, Rugby, Charterhouse, Radley, University College School, and King's College School.."
>
> (23)

The problem now appeared to be not so much recruiting wind and brass players but the shortage of string players:

> "The heads of music... were all finding a difficulty in recruiting string players, while there were more players of brass and wood-wind instruments than were needed. This is attributed - rightly or wrongly - to the craze for jazz which is making itself felt in the most unexpected quarters. Another count in the indictment of the saxophone!"
>
> (24)

Dr.L.P.Huggins, director of music of Stowe, in a reply to the last point in Kalisch's article, whilst agreeing that there was a shortage of string players put the blame firmly with the preparatory schools:

> "We are still short of strings, largely because boys are not taught these instruments at preparatory schools. Nearly all our string pupils started to learn here. I do not think jazz music has anything to do with the shortage of strings. I think it is entirely due to the inadequate arrangements made for teaching strings at preparatory schools, and the attitude of parents

(who wish their boys to be able to play a pretty piece on the pianoforte and little more)." (25)

Many public school directors of music believed the development of jazz in the twentieth century to be an obstacle to the fostering of good musical taste in their boys. Spurling, if we recall from chapter three, believed that he could wean his musicians away from the pernicious influence of jazz by making them learn some "good" music, so that they could make a comparison.

"In the autumn of 1922 it came to my knowledge that certain boys had brought back to school Jazz instruments and were practising together surreptitiously. I made them come right into the open, I had them given proper instruction, I helped in it myself, and they had to give public performances in the School Hall....All this time these same boys were either singing or playing in the "B minor Mass," so that throughout the term they were constantly comparing the two.... Next term I heard no more of the Jazz band, nor have I since."

(26)

Even after the War public school musicians found it hard to accept the value of jazz and realize its potential as a method of developing creative work. I was told by one person, who was a boy at Framlingham College in the late 1940s, how one of his friends, Gerald Hendrie, now professor of music at the Open University, had been punished for playing jazz on the piano. John Thorn also reports that one of the most notable directors of music in the middle of this century, Douglas Fox (Bradfield 1918-

1931, Clifton 1931-1957),

"disliked jazz, and forbade his pupils to play it.." (27)

The ever increasing musical activity in the public schools during the twentieth century resulted in more concerts being given by the pupils than was the position in the nineteenth century. It was also the case that items by the school orchestra became customary at many of these concerts.

In Table 8 (Appendix page 236), I have compiled a list taken from 'The Musical Times' of instrumental music performed in public schools from 1924 to 1939, similar to the list given in the last chapter for choral works. I have tried only to include those works which were performed by the school orchestra or where a boy was the soloist. Given the available instrumental resources most probably the orchestral items in the majority of schools would have been special arrangements for school orchestras. During the period before the Second World War a number of arrangements for school orchestra by Adam Carse were published for strings with optional wind. The Musical Times did not always specify whether a complete work was performed or only a movement, it would most likely have been only one or two movements but, because I am unable to discriminate from the information given, I

have entered all performances as having been complete.

As expected the list shows a predominance of works by the "classical composers", though directors of music seem to have taken some interest in the works of the then contemporary composers e.g. Elgar, Vaughan Williams, Warlock and Quilter. But little seems to have been performed which was not in the "main stream" of instrumental repertoire, therefore pursuing the common philosophy of only exposing the public school boy to what the headmasters and directors of music classed as "nothing but the very best." (28)

It is however clear from this list that the standard and quantity of instrumentalists in schools were improving. The number of concertos performed with boy soloists show that many were achieving a very high standard and although there was some variety of instrumentalists more boys continued to achieve proficiency on the piano than any other instrument. But in order to perform symphonic works of such difficulty a high standard of string playing must have been maintained by some schools.

Few schools consistently contributed to 'The Musical Times' information about their concerts. Table 9 (Appendix page 239) and Table 10 (Appendix page 240), list

the instrumental music performed at Eton and Wellington respectively, between 1926 and 1939. These two Tables illustrate that some individual schools before the Second World War were performing works demanding a high standard of proficiency and demonstrate that music had attained some status in at least these two schools. This last statement is corroborated by David Newsome in his 'History of Wellington College', when he points out that W.K.Stanton, who was director of music at Wellington during this period, had transformed the school's music. (29)

The post Second World War years have seen a considerable expansion of instrumental activity in both the maintained and private sector. Before the war few local authorities had provided much in the way of instrumental teaching. There had been two commercial ventures at introducing class violin tuition in schools, the first in 1905 (30) and the other shortly after the first world war. But most LEAs attribute their establishment of a schools' instrumental service to the Rural Music School movement which began at Hitchin in 1929.

Due mainly to the activities of the 'Council for the encouragement of Music and Arts', during the war, there was now a greater awareness of the musical potential of young people. By the end of the 1950s almost half of

of the LEAs had appointed a Music Adviser (31) and by the end of the 1970s the majority had established a full instrumental service in their schools. (32)

Further indication of the growing national interest in Youth Music in the post-war years can be seen in the founding of the 'National Youth Orchestra' in 1947, the 'National Association of Youth Orchestras' in 1961, the 'National Youth Jazz Orchestra' in 1965 and the 'British Youth Wind Orchestra' in 1968.

As we have observed, the public schools before the Second World War had already established instrumental teaching in their schools and their work undoubtedly had some influence on the newly formed LEA instrumental service. But during the war many public schools had been evacuated and their numbers reduced, it would only be natural that one of the casualties of war would be the orchestral work, mainly due to a lack of string players.

When Derek Gaye went to Dean Close as director of music in 1947 he found that

> "the accommodation for music consisted of the school hall . . two music cells . . and a disused garage for class work. . . As for music staff they were virtually non-existent and consisted of a visiting piano teacher, and a visiting violinist who had two pupils. . . .there were no school wind instruments, but the C.C.F. had an enthusiastic bugle and drum band which was self taught."
>
> (33)

A similar picture is painted by Robin Miller who went to Ardingly in 1948:

> "there were about forty boys learning the piano. I was the only full time music master and there was one-part time visitor. There were also some bugles and drums. But there was no orchestra - indeed there were no orchestral instruments." (34)

But the list of instrumental works performed after the War, Table 11 (Appendix page 243), shows that public schools soon recovered the ground lost during the War years and re-established their orchestras. However, the repertoire changed very little and the "classical" composers still predominated.

That there has been a steady and continuous increase in the numbers of instrumental pupils in public schools is illustrated by the following list of pupils receiving instrumental tuition at Winchester College from 1900 to 1990. This increase is typical of that to be found in most public schools during the twentieth century. Noteworthy is the increase of orchestral instruments and especially the numbers receiving tuition on wind instruments.

Numbers of Instrumental Pupils at Winchester 1900-1990.

Year	Piano	Strings	Wind	Total
1900				28
1924	94	10	3	107
1929	78	26	18	122
1939	67	15	31	113
1949	82	30	37	149
1959	114	33	59	206
1969	88	54	98	240
1990	154	103	137	394

(35)

(I am grateful to the current Master of the Music at Winchester, Mr.Keith Pusey, for supplying the figures for 1990).

If we compare the numbers of instrumental pupils at Oundle in 1990 with those previously given for 1910 we have further verification of their increase during the twentieth century, especially in woodwind and brass:

	Piano	Violin	'Cello	Woodwind	Organ	Total	School Roll.
Oundle (1909)	64	15	3	7	2	91	326

Oundle (1990)

Piano	Strings	Woodwind	Brass	Percussion	Organ	Singing
113	115	100	60	21	9	16

Total: 434 School Roll: 856

(I am grateful to the current director of music at Oundle, Mr.Martin Freke, for supplying the above figures).

Kalton, in his survey of Public Schools for the HMC, claimed that 117 out of the 166 schools he questioned, in 1966, could provide tuition in ten or more

different instruments. He stated that the instruments for which tuition was commonly available were as follows:

> violin (95%); piano (90%); clarinet (88%); trumpet (86%); 'cello (83%); flute (78%); oboe (77%); trombone (75%); organ (75%); horn (67%); viola (58%); bassoon (55%) and double bass (48%).
>
> (36)

Today I know of no public school which does not offer tuition in all of these instruments.

In his survey of school activities in general, Kalton found that musical activities featured prominently, with over a third of the schools recording five or more musical activities. Unfortunately he does not state what the musical activities were and if he was including group and ensemble work or just activities involving large groups of boys.

In my own survey of 84 representative HMC schools I found that 75% offered five or more major musical activities in which I included the choral society. chapel or school choir, wind band, first orchestra, second orchestra, string orchestra, jazz or dance band. Most of the 75% of schools offered many more than five major musical activities and all 84 schools claimed a large variety of smaller choral, wind and brass groups. Ninety-five per cent of the schools had an orchestra and 46% had more than one, with some of the larger schools claiming to

have up to four. Eighty-eight per cent of the schools had a wind band and 49% a string orchestra. Forty-Six per cent of the schools had a jazz band.

Further evidence of the public schools' increasing commitment to instrumental tuition after the War and more especially in the 1960s and '70s, is seen in a massive escalation of improvements in facilties for music. Table 12 (Appendix page 246), lists the music schools built, or substantially extended, in public schools after the Second World War. The information, taken from the Public Schools Year Books, school prospectuses and other reliable sources, illustrates the increased concern of these schools to provide good facilities for music.

The majority of today's public schools claim that approximately one-third of their pupils have tuition on at least one musical instrument but many said the figure was nearer fifty per cent and some, like Bryanston, Wellington and Winchester, put the figure at two-thirds. All these figures compare favourably with the maintained sector where it was calculated that between five and six per cent of children, on average, were learning to play an instrument through the LEA music service. (37)

If we take a conservative figure of one-third of pupils in public schools receiving instrumental tuition and allow for a considerable proportion of these who have lessons on more than one instrument, I estimate that there must be around 60,000 receiving instrumental lessons in these schools. This compares favourably with the maintained sector where there is a calculated estimate of 360,000 at all age levels in England and Wales learning instruments. (38) However it should be remembered when comparing public school against state school figures that only 38% of LEAs provide piano tuition whereas a large proportion of the total number of instrumental pupils in public schools are piano pupils. But on the other hand 81% of LEAs said that the majority of their pupils were being taught in groups whereas very few are taught by this method in the public schools.

The majority of public school headmasters are now keen to see instrumental music flourish in their schools. Good publicity can accrue from the work of a successful music department and serve to counter criticisms that the schools are semi-barabaric and over concerned with athleticism. More interest is being expressed in the cultural life of schools by parents and headmasters are anxious that their school should not appear unfavourably when compared with others.

As we saw in the last chapter, public schools are able to "buy in" musical talent by offering substantial reductions in fees through scholarships and awards. According to the 'Public Schools Year Books' music scholarships were being offered by some schools as early as the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Clifton (1907); Derby (1900); Eltham (1895); Lancing (1910); Loretto (1889); Tonbridge (1891); Trent (1901) and Uppingham (1904). But these were choral awards for boys able to sing treble in the chapel choirs. Loretto offered them "by preference, to the sons of Oxford and Cambridge graduates."(39) By 1936 fourteen schools were offering music scholarships and in 1937 the 'Year Book' published its first list of schools offering music scholarships - forty-six in all and mainly choral awards.

Today most offer at least two instrumental scholarships, which vary in value from 10% to full remission of fees, though Eton offers eight awards; King's Canterbury seven; Ardingly ten and Winchester six and many an unspecified number. Many also offer places to the musically talented through the Government's "Assisted Places" scheme. Competition between schools to attract good young musicians is fierce, so much so that procedural guide lines have had to be laid down by the HMC.

Whatever political criticisms may be made of

this system of awards there can be little doubt that it has done much in raising the prestige and standard of the subject within public schools by ensuring a nucleus of good musicians and encouraging the fostering of music within preparatory schools.

One further internal factor which has done much to raise the standard of music in public schools during the last two decades is the increasing number of girls being educated in former boys' schools. Music along with drama is seen as a subject where the girls can easily be integrated into the life of the schools without having to make special provision.

Instrumental tuition is still an "extra" paid for by the parents and not included in the school fees. However, some schools in order to encourage pupils to take up an instrument do offer free instrumental tuition, probably in groups and often on a string instrument only, for one term or a year: Allhallows; Berkhamstead; Bryanston; Dean close; Leighton Park; Marlborough; Mill Hill; Oakham; Rossall and St.Bees, whilst Oakham offers free tuition once a pupil has passed Grade 5 with merit and Dean Close a pass at Grade 6.

Quantity and quality of instrumentalists in public schools are now the highest they have ever been and

school prospectuses are keen to boast of the school's flourishing music department:

> "The music school plays an important part in the academic, social and spiritual life of the school and, significantly, in maintaining the Bryanston reputation." (40)

> "Music plays a central part in the life of the School." (41)

Never before has there been so much variety of musical activities in public schools and the contemporary music master, with his academic or conservatoire training, is having to learn new skills grappling with the continually evolving electronic instruments. Many public schools now have fully equipped electronic keyboard studios and the formation of Rock Bands is often encouraged. The boarding school is able to provide an environment, equipment and facilities which few homes or day schools can equal, a point I shall return to in the conclusion.

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CHAPTER SIX

MUSIC AND THE CURRICULUM

It has become clear that the main thrust of musical education in the public schools has been through organizations concerned with practical work outside the classroom. Whereas the person in charge of music in the state elementary school was appointed as a general class teacher who would teach music alongside other subjects, the public school director of music was likely to be a professional musician, who had probably attended a university or conservatoire and was appointed to teach the piano or organ and train the choir. Like his headmaster he would have seen the cultivation of choral and instrumental activities as his raison d'etre.

As a subject within the public school curriculum, music has had little or no status, it was not regarded as an academic discipline and was, and still is, felt to be better served through voluntary activities and individual instrumental lessons. Much of this chapter is concerned with discovering if there has been any change in this viewpoint and considering how the public school pupil can best be musically educated.

As has already been observed in chapter 3

(pp.81 & 104), because a boy lives and works at school the whole structure of the curriculum can be different. A boy at a day school spends only one-fifth of his week at school. A boarding school must provide an environment which compensates for the lack of parental support and encouragement. Headmasters of boarding schools, since the latter part of the nineteenth century, have claimed that they are better able to educate a child because they are able to provide all the facilities, expertise and encouragement which a day child may have to seek outside the school. John Dancy, writing in 1963 when headmaster of Marlborough, expresses a view which is still shared by the majority of public school headmasters, that there is

> "every chance in a boarding school of compensating outside the timetable for any inbalance in it." (1)

As I said in chapter 3 (p.103), the aims of public school directors of music appear to have remained fairly constant, but the justifications for music in the school have been indeterminate. The aims could be summed up by F.H.Shera writing in 1921 when he was director of music at Malvern:

> "present-day ideals in music teaching aimed at enabling the average boy (1) to appreciate good music of every type, and (2) to take a part, however humble, in some form of co-operative music." (2)

Justifications for music seemed to concentrate on the cerebral and physical benefits, rather like taking some form of medicine or exercise. M.E.Robinson, who as far as I can ascertain did not teach in a public school, writing in 1909 in 'School: A Monthly Record of Educational Thought and Progress', expresses such points of view under the headings of moral, intellectual and physical:

(1) "Music, made by man, moralises men. It is invaluable, indeed as a moral discipline, because without preaching it inculcates indirectly and suggestively, and therefore effectively, the justice and sympathy that are the main constituents of all the social virtues...."

(2) Music provides "as good a training in accuracy and clearness of thought as Latin or Mathematics."

(3) "Even physically music has beneficient results. It gives tone to the nervous system, and so braces the muscles as to make the movement of the limbs appreciably easier and more pleasant." (3)

So music's inclusion in the curriculum seemed to be justified by trying to equate it with other subjects. Music therefore became an academic discipline. It could also be used to convey religious beliefs and moral thoughts, and through inter-house competitions it could emulate the spirit of team games. Few, if any, justified it as we do today because of its unique value: it is the only subject which enables a pupil to be creative, express emotions and feelings through the medium of sound alone,

without words. There may be other benefits which come about through involvement with music but these should be considered as being of secondary importance. It is its unique value which makes it essential in the education of every child.

It was observed in chapter 1 (p.28) that the Clarendon Commission wished to see music or drawing taught in the public schools; most of them chose the latter. Edward Thring, whose appointment to Uppingham in 1853 predates the Clarendon Commission, is credited with being the first headmaster to include singing in the curriculum. But it was as an "extra" and an optional subject among a list of other subjects, which included:

> "French, German, Chemistry,
> Carpentry, Turning and Drawing",
> (4)

and taken in an afternoon, the "ordinary school subjects" being studied in the morning.(5) Among the other schools of this period which claimed to include music in the curriculum were Ardingly (1858), Cranleigh (1863), Malvern (1865) and Tonbridge (1876).

In 1889 the first edition of the 'Public Schools Year Book' was published, which in 1910 was to become the 'Official Book of Reference of the Headmasters' Conference'. The first volume contained information on

twenty-nine schools in addition to the four Service Colleges. During the next ten years a further fifty-five schools were included, some temporarily but the majority permanently. Of the eighty-eight schools included in the 'Public Schools Year Books' prior to 1900 only thirty-three specifically mention the inclusion of music in some form in the curriculum. In only one of these cases, Cheltenham College, was it referred to as anything but 'Vocal Music'.

The fact that some schools saw fit to mention that 'Vocal Music' was included in the curriculum without additional charge, indicates that headmasters perceived music as being an 'extra' and not part of the normal curriculum. As the following extracts from the 'Year Book' demonstrate:

> "Choral Singing is taught in school time for two half-hours a week by the Precentor without extra charge, to any boy whose voice or ear is considered sufficiently good."
>
> (Bradfield: 1889).
>
> (The same or a similar statement was to be included in Bradfield's entry in the Year Book up until 1941).
>
> "Tuition fee covers instruction in singing."
>
> (Fettes: 1889)
>
> "Tuition fees include every subject ordinarily taught, even singing and drawing."
>
> (King's Canterbury: 1893)

"Choral Singing: Instruction is given without extra charge."

(Blackheath: 1895)

Even where vocal music, or singing, was included in the curriculum it should not be assumed that it was placed alongside other subjects in the daily routine. Frequently the classes amounted to nothing more than an hour's singing in a evening or after chapel, and often for only a select few or the choir.

"All boys in the school below the Shell form are taught Drawing or Vocal Music (with the Theory of Music) for one hour in the week."

(Shrewsbury: 1889)

"All boys in the lower school who have any voice join a singing class..... No extra payment is made for this, except for the music used."

(Felsted: 1891)

"Music and Singing classes after Evening Service."

(Bromsgrove: 1893)

"All boys who can sing enter the choral class and a select number form the Chapel Choir."

(Dover: 1893)

"Part-Singing is taught to all boys capable of receiving it."

(Merchant Taylors' Crosby: 1898)

By the end of the century much criticism was being made of the public schools for not adequately teaching singing and more especially sight-singing. Many outside the public schools felt that they compared

unfavourably with the elementary schools, where by order of the Privy Council singing was to be taught in every school under their jurisdiction. The wife of John Curwen speaking in 1890 on the subject of 'Music Teaching' said:

> "Mr.Barnby (later Sir.Joseph Barnby) says that at Eton he rejects 90 per cent. of the boys as incapable of singing (these boys come from preparatory schools); in the elementary schools 5 per cent. more than covers the incapables. The rough-and-ready singing of unison songs in which the Harrow boys indulge can hardly be compared with the beautiful three-part music which we can hear in the London Board Schools." (6)

Though the 1906 Board of Education Memorandum, offering suggestions on the place of music in the general scheme of education, recommended a minimum of two separate half-hours of class singing and whole-school singing twice a week for day schools, they were also of the opinion that:

> "In boarding schools the Harrow system of evening house singing and the performance of choral masterpieces is approved." (7)

As we have observed, some public school directors of music were critical of the preparatory schools, where they felt music was being

> "absolutely neglected". (8)

Peppin felt that the standard of sight-reading of those

boys who went to public school at the age of thirteen or fourteen from preparatory school was

"almost always derisory". (9)

I shall return to the role of music in preparatory schools later in this chapter.

However those public school directors of music in the late nineteenth century who have left us accounts of their work - David, Ivimey, Parker and Peppin have written almost nothing about any work in class. Parker, who was so critical of the music in preparatory schools made it quite clear where he thought he should put his energies:

> "The School Musical Society, . . is the centre of musical life and education in the Public School." (10)

At the beginning of the twentieth century educational reforms in the maintained sector were to result in much greater competition and pressure on the public schools. The Balfour Education Act of 1902 gave the local authorities much wider powers to supply or aid secondary education and the 1904 'Regulations for Secondary Schools' defined the pattern of the schools, which took as its model the old public and grammar schools. These regulations laid down firm guide lines for the curriculum which the state schools were expected to

follow:

> ".....the course should provide for instruction in the English Language and literature, at least one language other than English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Science and Drawing.."
>
> (11)

There was no mention of music.

In a speech at Shrewsbury School, on July 11th 1906, Dr.Edmond Warre (headmaster of Eton 1884-1905) said:

> "It was clear that ere long the Public Schools of England would once again have to justify, not only their curricula, but, it might be their very existence. The spirit of the age seemed to be inclined toward utilitarianism, and the trend of public opinion in that direction would necessitate on the part of the schools a period of self-criticism, and, very probably a re-organization of curricula, a fresh co-ordination of the different subjects of study, improved methods of teaching, and generally that effort of living growth and energy which would re-inform their intellectual life and economy from within."
>
> (12)

If class music was to achieve any status within a public or grammar school it would have to take on an academic perspective and become a 'Subject' which could be studied like other subjects through books without necessarily having any practical point of reference. Ouseley's examination first introduced in 1870 for degree candidates at Oxford, mentioned in chapter three, included exercises in harmony and counterpoint, formal analysis and

musical history. This pattern indicated the way to gain academical endorsement of the subject.

The musical appreciation movement which had been brought to this country from America by Stuart Macpherson was to influence considerably the teaching of music in public and maintained secondary schools for a large portion of this century. The public school headmasters strongly believed that it was through the study of the history of music and formal analysis of classical works that they would be able to civilise and refine their boys:

> "A music class is held for those who without learning an instrument wish to be able to understand and appreciate music. No charge is made for this class." (Repton: 1920)

> "...boys are encouraged in every way to learn and appreciate music." (Uppingham: 1922)

> "There are regular courses in musical appreciation." (Leighton Park: 1925)

> "An appreciation of music is regarded as essential." (Dauntseys: 1931)

> "Singing and musical appreciation." (Emmanuel: 1933)

> "Lessons in musical appreciation and singing are given to all forms." (Caterham: 1936)

> "Special attention is paid to class singing, and musical appreciation." (Truro: 1936)

"Boys are encouraged in every way to learn and appreciate standard music." (King's Bruton: 1940)

The type of musical education available at Oundle in the first few decades of the twentieth century was probably typical of most public schools before the Second World War. I quote at some length from a speech in 1927 given by Clement Spurling, director of music at Oundle, to the Musical Association:

> "The boys of the lowest forms get two periods of three-quarters of an hour weekly in singing class subjects i.e. ear-training, sight-reading, and singing exercises. They also learn several unison songs, chosen from the many excellent and stimulating songs which are published .....
> One period per week is set apart for appreciation work with each form. Each member of the form has a simple text book (such as White's "Music and its story" or a volume of Colles' "Growth of Music") for verifying facts about composers and their works, and, with a plentiful supply of gramophone records and scores, together with the aid of a Duo-art piano, the necessary equipment is complete. With small boys such topics as "Music in Queen Elizabeth's Reign," "How the piano was evolved from the earlier key-board instruments," "The Orchestra," "The Military Band," are found to be full of interest and discovery. Contact points with the other arts and literature and history are looked up in the library by the boys between the weekly lessons, and prove to be most fruitful in discussion. For the older boys more complicated topics are drawn on. Ideas which call for some previous experience are made use of, and some individual research is called for from each member of the class. Among subjects dealt with in the past are the following: (1) The growth of Sonata Form. (2) The String Quartet. (3) The Symphony from Haydn to Brahms. (4) The Romantic Composers. (5) The influence of instrumental development on composition. (6) Modern European composers. (7) English composers of to-day. (8) The "Nibelungen" Myths - as compared with Wagner's adaption in the 'Ring' Tetralogy. It has been said that "education is a widening of our sympathies and a stimulating of our imaginations." The study of music from the point of view indicated

> in this saying can well be an important means of accomplishing this ideal; indeed, it is hard to imagine a subject calling for more sympathy and imagination from anyone, whether listener or performer." (13)

We can observe here two of the methods of musical education, 'listening' and 'performance' as being regarded as separate disciplines. Class Singing had its roots in the elementary schools and was seen as a pastime or relaxation for the younger boys of the school, but the study of works and composers through books was considered to be a more justifiable and profitable use of a boy's time and more in keeping with the academic curricula of the public schools.

Whilst criticism could be made of the intellectual approach of the appreciation movement and many directors of music were unhappy with it, they also felt that any method which awakened the boys' interest in listening to music should not be rejected. In an address to the Music Masters' Association in 1927 Professor Dent, when discussing the difference between performers and listeners, enjoined the gathering to get the boys on the stage rather than in the stalls. Percy Buck pointed out that

> "With most schoolmasters the problem consisted less in placing the pupil on the stage rather than in the stalls, than getting him into the theatre." (14)

Brent-Smith of Lancing writing in 1922 stated that

> "Lectures on music, though admirable if regarded as part of European history, do not help towards musical appreciation ....Musical appreciation can only be obtained by direct contact with music. What we require is the actual performance of music - music of all sorts, instrumental, choral and operatic - so that we may attract listeners of all types." (15)

In place of, or in addition to, the regular "appreciation" lessons, some schools followed Peppin's idea of providing introductory explanatory lectures before live orchestral concerts:

> "We have an annual orchestral concert with professional orchestra; four lectures are given before hand on the music to be played, and these are very largely attended and are found most beneficial. (16)

> "We have three orchestral concerts which the whole school has to attend. I lecture on the programme before the concerts. As the boys are not obliged to come to these lectures and yet do come, I assume they find them helpful." (17)

The one way to ensure a subject's credentials as a part of the curriculum is to make it examinable and recognized by universities. But, apart from the practical examinations of the Associated Board which began in 1889, very little interest was taken in music as an examination subject by the public schools before the 1930s. The 'Public Schools Year Books' from 1893 until 1918 lists the

number of candidates entered for music in the Higher Certificate of Oxford and Cambridge in all schools. Between these years there was an average of 34 candidates per year.

In 1917 the School Certificate examination was established. In order to obtain the certificate a candidate had to obtain a pass in one subject from each of Groups I (English Subjects); II (Foreign Languages); and III (Science and Mathematics) and a pass in at least five full subjects of which two might be taken from Group IV (Aesthetic and Practical Subjects). Music was included as a non-academic subject along with art, drawing, woodwork and housecraft.

The Spens Report of 1938 gives the total number of entries in the country for each subject in 1926 and 1937. In 1926 there were 607 candidates for music and in 1937 1,543 candidates, which they estimated as being 1.1% and 2.0% respectively of the total entrants for the School Certificate. Just how little interest was being taken by public schools in music as a subject in the School Certificate can be verified by the fact that only six boys took the examination in 1930.

Public school music masters were dissatisfied with the standing of music in the School Certificate and

actually saw it as an obstacle for improving the status of the subject. They considered that the examination was only accessible to a few already accomplished musicians and were of the opinion that

> "the papers offered no real test of the average boy's musical ability." (18)

Broadening the syllabus, as they saw it, would open the way for music being made an integral part of the curriculum and on an equal footing with other subjects, but others thought that trying to improve its status by making it an academic and examinable subject could destroy the value of musical education.

To some extent this last observation was reflected in the Spens Report:

> " . . . we urge that the curriculum "should be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored." To speak of secondary school studies as 'subjects' is to run some risk of thinking of them as bodies of facts to be stored rather than as modes of activities to be experienced; and whilst the former aspect must not be ignored or even minimised, it should, in our opinion, be subordinate to the latter. This remark applies most clearly to 'subjects' such as the Arts and Crafts and Music, to which we attach great importance, but which have generally been relegated to an inferior place in the school programme." (19)

The years between the First and Second World War saw a considerable amount of experimentation and activity

in musical education in the maintained sector, but since it was mainly directed towards junior schools the public schools were relatively unaffected by it. But many were still being critical of the provision and quality of musical education in the preparatory schools which they continued to blame for the lack of musically able boys proceeding into the public schools:

> "The possibilities of musical development in the public schools are involved in the treatment accorded to the subject in the boys' preparatory schools, whose main purpose is to feed the schools for older boys. In common with all familiar with the educational ideals that govern the curricula of average schools of this type, Mr.Johnson (Director of Music at Rugby, later Precentor of Eton) deplores the deliberate neglect of the cultivation of the musical faculty that is so often evident in these quarters."
>
> (20)

By the Second World War the public school director of music in many ways found himself isolated from the main stream of educational developments in music. It was true that some schools had good choirs and orchestras but as an academic discipline the subject had no status and headmasters, keen on good examination results, were not willing to take class lessons away from other subjects for a subject which they felt was better served outside the classroom.

Therefore, not surprisingly after the War there was no immediate change in the content or provision for

musical education in the public schools, though music had become firmly established as a classroom subject in the maintained sector soon after. It seemed however to bear little relationship with music as a creative and aesthetic force and had little relevance to the young;

> "The accent was still on singing, musical appreciation, history of music and "paper exercises" in theory."
>
> (21)

By the 1960s a considerable amount of debate was taking place about the importance and relevance of music in maintained schools. The Newsom report of 1963 was extremely critical of the provision for music in state schools (22) and in a survey in 1968 of 'Young School leavers', music was voted the most boring and useless subject by fifteen year olds about to leave state schools. (23)

It was realized that a restricted diet of class singing and musical appreciation was clearly failing to interest pupils as well as not being an effective way of developing the creative elements of musical education. If music was thought to be an essential part of a child's education then it must be available to all, the only way this could be guaranteed in a maintained day school was through class teaching. Therefore in an attempt to make music more accessible to all children, new approaches were

experimented with in order to encourage pupils to become involved practically without requiring instrumental skills or musical literacy. The emphasis was to be on the exploration of sounds and the development of creative thinking rather than passive listening, though class singing was still encouraged.

This outlook on musical education resulted in the publication of new methods for use in classroom teaching. In 1967 George Self published 'New Sounds in Class': A practical approach to the understanding of performing contemporary music in schools'. This was followed in 1970 by Brian Dennis's 'Experimental Music in School' and in the same year John Paynter's and Peter Aston's seminal work, 'Sound and Silence', which offered new approaches to creative teaching in the classroom.

The acceptance that new methods needed to be found to make music an effective classroom subject prompted the Schools Council to ask Paynter to direct a research project for music in the secondary curriculum, this took place between 1973 and 1980 and became known as the 'York Project'. In Paynter's own words the

> "Project did not set out to discover a 'better' way of teaching music. It did, however, try to promote widespread discussion on the subject of music's curriculum role with the object of producing among those with an interest in the topic - teachers, parents, educational administrators - a greater awareness of the contribution music could make to everyone's general education." (24)

The results of this research and Paynter's own philosophy of music education were described by him in his book 'Music in the Secondary Curriculum' (1982), from which I have already quoted. Although Paynter claimed that he was not out to 'prove' anything or recommend a 'method' of music education, he is frequently critical of the musical education provided by the public schools, the influence they have had and the emphasis they have placed on extra-curricular activities.

> "For many people 'school music' means 'special occasion music'. The model is the tradition of the independent Public Schools where music has often been an 'extra' academically, coming into prominence only once a year as part of the public display of Speech Day or Founder's Day. This is still the most widely accepted image of music even in comprehensive schools."
>
> (25)

Whereas the work did much to stimulate a re-appraisal of the role of musicians in state schools, it had little, if any, direct influence on music in the public schools.

Although Paynter was critical of the public schools for developing the extra-curricular activities at the expense of class-work, it can be said in their defence that, until relatively recently, educationists had failed to evolve any really effective method of class musical education, but the orchestras and choirs were giving the public school child the opportunity to make music and gain a deeper understanding through practical skills.

Some of the points Paynter made in his book had already been made by public school headmasters and directors of music earlier in the century. We observed in chapter two that Badley felt education should be concerned with the development of "creative intelligence" (p.64) and in 1922 Percy Buck wrote:

> "The mission of the public school music-master, as I conceive it, is first and foremost to the unmusical; that is ... to the boys who, if left alone, would give music a wide berth and live their lives entirely outside its orbit."
>
> (26)

I would suspect that Paynter would be in agreement with both of these statements.

It should be borne in mind that Paynter, Aston, Self, Dennis and others were trying to evolve a curriculum initiative for state comprehensive schools which are attended by approximately 95% of the children in this country in that age group. They were concerned with musical education from the age of eleven and therefore their remarks were more pertinent to heads of music in preparatory schools rather than public schools. Criticisms were perhaps more directed at the heads of music in comprehensive schools for trying to emulate a system of musical education clearly evolved for teaching music in a selective boarding school from the age of thirteen upwards.

But clearly directors of music in the public schools were concerned about the developments in class music teaching and some of the requirements of G.C.S.E., as the report in 1986 of the Independent Schools' Curriculum Committee for music demonstrates:

> "Many teachers are worried about the requirements in 'creative' classroom music and the techniques and time that these will require. Classroom music as found in many state schools, is still a somewhat mysterious thing in many independent schools, and many felt themselves ill equipped to cope with the requirements. A number of schools taking pupils at 13+ expressed concern that, in what is in reality a five-year classroom course, the preparatory schools were going to have to play a major role, starting preparation for the examination in their final two years, to which many are not at present prepared to give either the time or the resources."
>
> (27)

If more time is to be given for music in the timetable then directors of music must be able to convince headmasters of music's value as a classroom subject and what, if anything, it could replace. To a large extent the public schools respond to market forces and at the moment they demand tangible results. The universities and employers continue to look for results in what they consider to be the high academic status subjects, they appear unconvinced that the creative / aesthetic / practical subjects are of educational value above worthwhile pastimes.

There is a tendency on the part of parents,

pupils, employers and perhaps even teachers to conceive quality of education in terms of examination results. It is still the universities which ultimately dictate what are the acknowledged prestigious subjects and these are without exception the ones that are most readily examinable as they are concerned with theoretical and factual knowledge. They are more readily teachable in a classroom situation, but least concerned with the creative, spiritual and moral aspects of a child's education which are so important.

In his book 'Life in Public Schools' (1986), Geoffrey Walford reports that parents regarded examination results and academic success as the main reasons for sending their sons to public schools. This can manifest itself in a self-righteous bigotry in which the schools equate high marks in examinations with quality of education. As we can see from this recent statement in 'Conference and Common Room':

> "Every one of our Heads is entitled to see him or herself as a crusader for the school's academic values, and full entry lists are demonstrable proof that these values are what parents want for their child and are prepared to pay for."
>
> (28)

As a result headmasters are now less inclined to take risks with the curriculum than their state school colleagues, especially since boys are studying for

examinations for four of the five years that they normally spend in a public school. Discussions on the curriculum in public schools therefore tend to concentrate more on the number of periods a subject requires to meet examination needs than on providing what is best for a child's overall development.

Attempts which have been made to make music conform to an academic approach to teaching have clearly failed. Most public schools took the Oxford and Cambridge examination board for 'O' level. The syllabus for 'O' level fitted in extremely well with the schools' academic approach to the subject. There were three papers: (1) A history paper which involved detailed theoretical analysis of one musical composition and writing an essay on a choice of three set works; (2) An aural paper; and (3) A practical paper, in which a mark was awarded on the basis of an Associated Board examination of Grade 5 or above, though other options were available. The history paper was easily taught by providing written notes, the candidate was merely required to learn these and regurgitate them in an examination. Given that most candidates were proficient instrumentalists, music masters found that they could comfortably complete the syllabus within one year and in many schools it was taught outside the time-table in what was a dry and academic manner.

The G.C.S.E. syllabus for music, unlike the old G.C.E., should be regarded as the culmination of a five year course of musical education. Reflecting the work done by the 'York Project' and Keith Swanwick, it is more than a revision of the G.C.E. syllabus, it is a curriculum initiative which has done so much to help generate and stimulate new ideas which are having such a good effect on music in all schools. Introduced in 1988 G.C.S.E. music was an attempt to follow the philosophy of making the subject approachable to all pupils and thereby it would possibly attract greater numbers to take the examination.

Most directors of music in public schools appeared to be very wary of the new examination and seemed unwilling to give wholehearted support for its introduction into their schools, because they felt there

> "to be no overall picture as to what precisely is required." (29)

Because the examination was supposed to be the culmination of at least five years of class teaching, those who taught in public schools which took in pupils at the age of 13+ envisaged four main problems. Namely:

> "(a) The diversity of knowledge and experience of children entering their schools.
> (b) Insufficient teaching time in the first year at 13+.
> (c) A highly selective and often not very helpful options system for a two-year course.

(d) Many independent school musicians did not feel themselves properly trained for the type of class teaching required."

(30)

The numbers and results of candidates for G.C.S.E. music in certain public schools in 1989, given below, would seem to indicate that there has not yet been a significant increase in the number of candidates and it is still possibly only attracting the same small group of good instrumentalists who would have taken G.C.E.. But in my recent discussions with directors of music in public schools they have expressed considerable optimism and enthusiasm for the new examination and most report increasing number of candidates.

Numbers and results of candidates for G.C.S.E. Music in 1989 in nine public schools:

	Number of candidates	Result (Grade) A	B	C	D
Bryanston	21	7	10	4	
Downside	5		1	2	2
Framlingham	4	3			1
Haberdasher's Aske's	10	2	6	2	
Marlborough	3	3			
Oundle	15	13	2		
Queen's Taunton	5	2	2	1	
Repton	6	3	2	1	
Stowe	3		2	1	

But in some schools it continues to be taught outside the time-table, either because pupils find that music is in a poor option block or because a greater number of pupils opt for the subject when it is taught as

an 'extra'. Many schools continue to feel that G.C.S.E. can be taught in one year to pupils who possess good instrumental skills.

Of the 40 schools surveyed by the MMMA in 1989 none thought that the numbers of candidates choosing 'A' level music has significantly increased due to the introduction of G.C.S.E.. Some thought they had actually decreased. In 1966 Kalton surveyed 166 schools and found that only 57 had candidates taking music 'A' level and of these 46 had less than three candidates. The maximum number of 'A' level candidates quoted in public school prospectuses for 1989 was three.

With so much music going on in a public school through activities and instrumental lessons is there a need to provide class instruction? Many educationists would say categorically "yes" and point out that in some schools it is possible for a pupil to be at a school without ever attending a music class or participate in a musical activity other than congregational practice. Whereas Paynter and others see the classroom as the "core of school music activity" others disagree. Geoffrey Brace in 1979 wrote

> "It seems to me completely against nature to try to make music a classroom subject. It has never worked as such and people in other countries realized it before they even tried it."
>
> (32)

The justification for music as a class subject appears to be that if it is a compulsory part of the curriculum then all pupils will have the opportunity of developing their musical skills. If provision for music is outside the timetable then probably only those who have instrumental or vocal skills or interests will take part in a musical activity. Thus music becomes an elitist activity even though, as we saw in the last chapter, in a public school it appears to be involving a large proportion of the population.

At the moment independent schools can choose whether or not they implement the National Curriculum, though the Labour Party has indicated that it would enforce them to do so should it be returned to power.

The National Curriculum lists three 'Core' subjects and seven 'Foundation' subjects, of which music is one. The response to this from several independent school bodies has been negative and reveals that opinions on music as part of the curriculum have changed little since the beginning of the century. They also exhibit a total ignorance of the developments in musical education over the last two decades.

The Independent Schools Curriculum Committee, on which music is not represented by a musician, in November

1989 issued a discussion document in which they criticised the inclusion of music for all up the age of 16 as

> "an ill thought out decision". (33)

Instead of investigating the merits of including music in the curriculum until the age of sixteen, they chose to fabricate peripheral objections more concerned with surmountable practical difficulties and spurious arguments than discussing educational principles:

> "(ii) Music and art for all till 16 may well mean the end of specialist GCSE groups for these subjects.
>
> (iii) Unless the teachers are very good there is likely to be some pupil resistance to compulsory music lessons in years 10 and 11.
>
> (iv) If music is to be a practical activity .... then it will have to be done in relatively small groups in sound-proof rooms with quite sophisticated equipment. Will the resources be available?"
>
> (34)

They also consider replacing it with drama which they deem to be

> "much more accessible than music and, in many ways, is more educational."
>
> (35)

Why did the discussion not centre around why drama had been omitted from the National Curriculum rather than what should replace music?

But their reactionary views are most clear when discussing allocation of times for subjects, when they state that it would be

> "possible to reduce music to a smattering of music appreciation"
>
> (36)

a method, we have observed, that contemporary educational theory has clearly shown to be ineffective in the classroom.

Furthermore in an article in 'Conference and Common Room', the General Secretary of the Independent Schools Joint Council, Arthur Hearnden, recommends a method of musical education which was practised at the turn of the century:

> "Music as a compulsory subject for all might best be taught via occasional illustrated lectures to whole year groups, perhaps as preparation for optional attendance at public performances."
>
> (37)

The working group for music in the 'National Curriculum' is due to begin meeting in the Summer of 1990, but according to the Secretary of State's Consultation Document (DES 1987), there are not to be attainment targets but curriculum guide lines. This will leave opportunities for teachers to develop their own syllabus and criteria, but equally well may give the Independent Sector a pretext for not providing compulsory music

education for all up to the age of 16.

Most boys and girls enter a public school at the age of thirteen, by which time it is expected that they will have developed certain skills and attitudes to music, depending almost entirely on the kind of musical experience they have had in their previous schools. The provision for music varies considerably in preparatory schools, some are small and unable to employ a full-time musician and some reduce the amount of time spent on music as the child approaches Common Entrance Examinations. However, preparatory school children will have had the opportunity to learn an instrument and participate in at at least one musical activity.

Whereas the state secondary school will be taking in its new pupils at the age of eleven from the local primary schools, the public school will receive theirs at the age of thirteen from a large number of preparatory schools, possibly from all over the country. The public school music master, if he sees the new entrants in a class-room situation at all, will probably be faced with a wider range of musical accomplishments than his maintained sector colleague. Some may have received no musical education, apart from occasional class singing, some will be quite musically literate whilst others will be proficient instrumentalists.

The preparatory school, though educating the 8 - 13 age range, tends to take for its model the type of musical education provided in the public rather than the state junior and lower secondary schools. Although most preparatory schools include some class music in the curriculum, emphasis is still on the voluntary musical activities.

The increased instrumental musical activity in the state primary and early years of the secondary schools, since the Second World War, has done much to stimulate the growth of music in the preparatory school, which in turn has considerably enhanced that in the public schools. In 1957 the IAPS recommended that much more attention should be given to "cultural aspects" of the school life "especially music". (38)

The fact that preparatory schools are preparing their pupils for an entrance examination to public schools (CEE) in which music as a subject is not included, must have some bearing on music's status in the classroom. One of the difficulties of the preparatory school director of music is to convince headmasters, parents and pupils of the value of music in the curriculum when colleagues are requesting more time for examination subjects. At the stage in a child's education when state secondary schools are providing regular class music lessons, the preparatory

schools are often reducing their commitment to the subject in the curriculum and giving it an inferior status. I have even heard it said by some preparatory school headmasters, that they timetable music in an afternoon to provide some form of relaxation from the serious studies which take place in the morning - an educational philosophy which has much in common with that of Thring in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Several attempts have been made to raise the status of music in the preparatory school and encourage public schools to take it into account when awarding pupil places. In 1926 the chairman of IAPS, A.E.Lynham of Dragon school, suggested the introduction of a confidential report and a viva-voce examination in certain non-examinable subjects, which included music. This was not implemented.

A similar scheme was set out in a report on "Transfer at 13" (1988) which aimed at

> "verifying that a broad curriculum has been pursued." (39)

They wished to see profiling available in all subjects to either replace examinations or as a supplement to them. In particular they wished to see profiles provided for those subjects where there was no written examination

"namely Art, Music, CDT, Computing and Physical Education..these profiles should be introduced as a matter of urgency. We would wish them to be a standard element in Common Entrance by 1989."

(40)

However, all that has happened so far is that the'Common Entrance Music Form', which already existed, has been slightly revised. The Independent Schools' own Central Subject Panel for Music has already been critical of the document, it feels that it is inadequate and will do little to raise the status of class music in preparatory schools:

"We would like to see a Profile containing much more information about the work covered in music by every child at preparatory school level concerning music in class and not just about the instrumentalist/singer..... We are sure that it is only by doing this that there will be any hope of getting all schools to teach the subject in class up to the age of 13."

(41)

It must be the duty of the public school director of music to determine the potential, skill and stage of development of new entrants to the school.

If we examine Shuter-Dyson's and Gabriel's "Milestones of musical development" (1981) we see that in their view nearly all aspects of musical growth take place before a child reaches twelve. After this age there is an

"Increase in appreciation, cognitively and in emotional response."

(42)

It is therefore up to the public school to provide an environment or situation where appreciation and emotional response can be developed. The public schools have opportunities for structuring musical education which is rarely available, if at all, in the maintained sector. Classes are comparatively small, usually no more than twenty and it is frequently possible to time-table at least two music teachers to the same class, so work in small groups with an expert at hand is possible. Most public schools have a well equipped music school with a number of practice and ensemble rooms providing excellent facilities for group work.

But even given the staffing and facilities, one lesson a week of around forty minutes is not sufficient to achieve worthwhile results. No sooner has a child begun to develop an idea than the lesson has come to an end and another week goes by before progress can be resumed. If we consider that a music teacher during a term sees a child in a class situation for the same amount of time as a maths, english or possibly french teacher may do in two weeks then we can perhaps understand how difficult his task is in maintaining development and interest in the subject.

If music is to be properly treated then it should be given at least two periods per week, preferably

as a double as happens with most practical subjects. Many schools do provide a double period but seemingly only where it is one of a number of short courses or modules which pupils study for part of the year - a far from satisfactory solution which once again emphasizes the low status music holds as a classroom subject.

Whilst extra-curricular music may be highly regarded by the public school community and considered to be of great importance, that which takes place in the classroom is usually treated with disinterest and detached indifference by the authorities.

Robert Witkin believes that

> "Choirs and orchestras can often be an immense and positive force for musical education in the school if they are truly broadly based but they are no substitute for creative music making and performance built from the class work outwards to the school concert. If creative music were the very pivot of music in the school then the existence of choirs and orchestras would cease to threaten the musical education of the majority as they so often do at present." (43)

Furthermore Paynter is of the opinion that the

> "more we exploit opportunities for extra-curricular ensembles and encourage the talented pupils to increase their skills, the less spin-off there may be within the curriculum as a whole." (44)

But this need not necessarily be so if

headmasters and directors of music were convinced of the importance of music education and the need to make adequate provision for it in a broad and balanced curriculum for every child. Alan Taylor, director of music at Haberdasher's Askes', speaking at his Presidential Address to the MMMA in 1988 said:

> "I suggest that a school in which there is little or no classroom music is a poor school musically and in such places music will always be seen as the optional extra, appropriate only to those with a special performing talent. If we wish it to be seen in a more comprehensive light, the classroom is where the subject achieves its normality."
>
> (45)

A view with which I totally agree.

I, and I would think the majority of musicians working in public schools, share the American psychologist Bennett Reimer's opinion that:

> "Music education has a dual obligation to society. The first is to develop the talents of those who are gifted musically, for their own personal benefit, for the benefit of the society which will be served by them, for the benefit of the art of music which depends on a continuing supply of composers, performers, conductors, scholars and teachers. The second obligation is to develop the aesthetic sensitivity to music of all people regardless of their individual levels of musical talent, for their own personal benefit, for the benefit of society which needs an active cultural life, for the benefit of the art of music which depends on a continuing supply of sympathetic, sensitive consumers. These two obligations are mutually supportive: the neglect of either one inevitably weakens both."
>
> (46)

Public Schools are probably meeting the first obligation but not fully discharging the second and are therefore failing to meet their commitment to fully educate all in their charge.

Quoting again the founder of Bedales School, J.H.Badley:

> "Education, . . is not concerned wholly or even primarily with intellectual development . . . This is a part, but a secondary part, of its work, and its main concern must be with the development of creative intelligence, and with the intellectual and emotional tendencies, the formation of interests, purposes and ideals."
>
> (47)

In Lambert's study of boarding education, 'The chance of a lifetime' (1975), he revealed that what he called the 'Expressive Goals' were those most frequently mentioned by public school headmasters. These are the aims of education which are concerned not with the

> "transmission of skills but qualities or attributes which are ends in themselves, values of behaviour, belief, morals, tastes and expression, things such as religious and moral awareness, cultural and intellectual interests, sportsmanship and development of personality."
>
> (48)

These goals are similar to the principles set out in the Education Reform Act of 1988 to provide a balanced and broadly based curriculum which

"(a) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and

(b) prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life."

(49)

It would appear that the "Expressive Goals" of the public school headmasters have much in common with the Principles of the Education Reform Act. Why therefore should there be differences in musical emphasis between these two sectors of education?

Public school headmasters, especially those of boarding schools, are only too eager to point out to prospective parents that they consider the extra-curricular activities as an integral part of the educational provision in their school. The child at a state school, though he may be encouraged to join in activities may not necessarily be able to do so because of transport or other difficulties, especially in a rural environment.

Of the 15,500 pupils in 17 Comprehensive Schools question in 1970 by T.G.Monks, less than 30% of the population took part in two or more activities in nearly half the schools, and in only three did this 'high-participant' group include 40% or more. (50) He also concluded that the relationship between social

classification and pupil's participation was neither as significant nor as universal as that between pupil's participation and high ability-rating.

The only way that the maintained sector can be certain that they are meeting the educational needs, including music, of a child is through the classroom situation. The public schools feel that they can meet these needs by providing opportunities outside the classroom for developing skills and interests. It is a system which is heavily reliant on the good will and support of headmaster, housemasters and other members of staff as well as the energy and enthusiasm of the music department.

Fine choirs, orchestras and bands can be displayed and win for the public school good publicity. They can be used as visible proof that the school is providing a balanced education and is not a home to the 'Barbarian and Philistine' but a place of culture. But few rewards will accrue from providing class music which could take time away from other subjects and consequently often only a token gesture is made in this direction.

It is obvious that most public schools now attach considerable importance to music and can be justifiably proud of the large numbers involved in

instrumental and choral work. But the status they award to extra-curricular musical activities is not matched by that which they give to music in the curriculum. If the public schools are to provide a thorough music education for all they must confront the problem of how best to attend to the needs of those who are not involved in the voluntary musical activities and examine their aims of musical education.

The majority of contemporary public schools do have the facilities, resources, expertise and 'activities' to enable children to develop fully their practical music skills. However, as we have discovered, though a larger proportion of children in public schools than most maintained schools are involved with music making there is still a large number who are not. It is these that the public schools appear to be failing to educate musically.

But as Peter Fletcher writes in his book 'Education and Music' (1987):

> "The overridingly important issue is not whether curricular or extra-curricular activities should predominate, but whether far-sighted musical opportunities are put in front of our children in sufficient quantity and whether our children are appropriately motivated to know whether or not they wish to accept them."
>
> (51)

The public schools may for the moment be able to

choose whether to implement the National Curriculum or not, but if they decide not to they will continue to ignore, or partially ignore, a proportion of the school for which they may be failing to provide a satisfactory musical education. Very little has changed over the last century and in the main an important area of the curriculum is still regarded as an 'extra' and something which pupils may take part in voluntarily. Their conception of class music as a "smattering of musical appreciation" displays an ignorance of contemporary educational thinking and the lack of a creative arts policy in a broad and balanced curriculum.

Paynter encapsulates the fundamental thesis of Witkin's book 'The Intellingence of Feeling', when he says:

> "If we fail to educate the feeling side of understanding, we educate only half the person." (52)

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CONCLUSION

The argument throughout this thesis has been that musical education has developed in the public schools since 1840. Some may argue that I have only proved that there has been a growth in musical activities not necessarily in "musical education". It is my contention that the increased numbers involved in these activities are indicative of development in musical education and if the aim of those concerned with education is to provide an environment where the majority of children experience music then the public schools do this more than most.

As I said in the introduction, I believe that the development of musical education in the public schools can be divided into five main stages, some resulting from internal reforms but most from pressures outside the system. Each period of reform has built upon the work done in the other and there has therefore been a continuous line of development.

The first period I would place around the 1830s and 40s: some description of the educational, musical and religious movements was given in chapter one. The two main influences which resulted in musical provision in some public schools were: (1) The religious revivals, which resulted in greater concern for the musical and ceremonial aspects of worship; and (2) The 'singing movement' led by

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, John Hullah and others, which progressively affected the elementary schools. It was those schools founded in the 1840s, with strong religious afflitiations, which established the embryonic music department with the appointment of an organist and choirmaster. The singing methods being tried in the elmentary schools and adult classes provided those choirmasters with a new approach.

The second period of development came after the Public Schools Commission's recommendations in 1864. Although the Commission itself had little direct effect immediately on the provision of musical education in schools, its recommendations were reflecting the spirit of the age for a more liberal education and a greater choice of "extra" subjects, of which music was one. It was during this period that we observed more internal influences through the work of John Farmer, Paul David and others mentioned in chapter three. These pioneers of musical education established the pattern of music departments in public schools which still exists today.

However, almost all the reforms in public school education during the twentieth century have been as a result of external influences, pressures and criticisms. So in the third period of development the creation of a State Secondary Education system, following the Balfour

Education Act (1902), gave the public schools their first real opposition, this did much to engender curriculum reforms within them. Coupled with the greater emphasis on examinations public schools had to be academically successful. At the same time the cult of "manliness" and athletic prowess, which had been rife in the public schools, steadily declined after the First World War and allowed individual interests to develop. The "appreciation movement" in music transformed class musical education at the start of this third period of development and the attention which it focused on the study of the "Classical Masters" and "form in music", fitted in extremely well with the more academic aims of the public schools.

The fourth period I would place after the Second World War. Local Education Authorities established instrumental services and there was a massive escalation in the number of instrumentalists taught in maintained schools, challenging the instrumental supremacy of the public schools. In the 1960s public schools were still under fire for being, according to John Rae;

"a refuge for the brainless and philistine". (1)

Headmasters keen to repudiate such a statement took a great interest in the arts and, as we saw in chapter five, supported the construction of improved facilities for music. Within the schools themselves the role of the

chapel as the centre of school life had diminished slightly and the focus of the director of music's attention was now as likely to be placed upon the orchestra as the chapel choir.

The final period of this development has only just begun. We have yet to see what will happen in the public schools as the result of discussion concerning the National Curriculum, the introduction of G.C.S.E. and the new classroom methods in music. My own view is that public schools will retain all their choirs, bands and orchestras and will eventually make proper provision in the curriculum for music as a subject from the age of 13+.

As we have observed, one constant criticism from directors of music in public schools has been of the standard of musical education in the preparatory schools. The Independent Schools Curriculum Committee continually points out the lack of time given to class music in some preparatory schools. They cannot force the schools to make proper provision, but until they do, this will be the greatest weakness in musical education within the independent sector.

I believe strongly that class music should be the "core" of musical education for the 8 - 13 age group, but I do not believe that it should be for the 13+ age

group. It is however essential, in my opinion, that music is given time within the curriculum for all pupils in their first year at public school. A public school's director of music is there for all and it is vital that he is able to assess the new pupils' abilities and talents and continue to develop their aural sensations of creativity, feelings and emotions.

Henson and Pratt have shown in their research that a favourable educational environment stimulates the development of artistic talent in children,(2) and Lambert in his survey of boarding schools in 1975 concluded from his evidence that these schools

> ". . . do open up the cultural, social and physical horizons of their pupils in ways that day schools seldom can emulate." (3)

The fact that it is now accepted by the public schools that over one-third of the pupils usually receive instrumental lessons, that there are good musical facilities, that there are numerous musical activities, that there is encouragement of the arts by both staff and pupils as well as concerts by pupils and visiting artistes, all show that they have an environment which is favourable to the subject.

There is always a fear that the schools will concentrate too much on the successful and talented

musician. This is wrong, but to some extent this can be rectified by giving "normality" to the subject by inclusion in the timetable and making available a great variety of musical activities.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1.

Music performed in Framlingham College Chapel from 1889 - 1900.

Te Deums: Barnby in E, Barnby in B flat, Dykes in F, Goss in A, Parry in D, Smart in F, Stanford in B flat, Sullivan in D, Tours in F.

Kyries: Armes in A, Calkin in G, Cambridge in C, Dykes in F, Eyre in E flat, Gadsby in C, Garrett in F, Garrett in B flat, Garrett in E, Hiles in F, Johnson in E flat, Johnson in D flat, Johnson in A flat, Mendelssohn in G, Mendelssohn in A flat, Mozart in F, Parry in D minor, Pearce in D, Rogers in D, Stainer in E flat, Stainer in A, Stainer in F sharp minor, Tallis in G, Thorne in G, Tours in F.

Benedicites: Fisher in E flat, Johnson in G, Medley in E, Stainer in B flat, Stainer in a flat, Tozer in G, Westoby in G.

Evening Services: Barnby in E flat, Barnby in C, Gadsby in C, Garrett in F, Goss in A, Gregorian Tones, Martin in D, Martin in E flat, Parry in D, Smart in F, Stainer in D, Stanford in B flat, Tours in F, Tours in B flat, Wesley in F.

Anthems:

Attwood	Come Holy Ghost.
Barnby	O Lord how manifold are thy works.
Bennett	God is a spirit.
Bridge	Crossing the bar.
Duffield	Turn ye even to me.
Ebdon	Praised be the Lord daily.
Edwards	I will lay me down in peace.
Elvey	Wherewith shall a young man.
Farrant	Lord for Thy tender mercies' sake.
Foster	O God, who is like unto Thee.
	Oh for a closer walk with God.
Garrett	In humble faith.
	Praise ye the Lord.
	The Lord is loving.
Gaul	No shadows yonder.
	Thus saith the Lord.
Goss	O love the Lord
	O Saviour of the world.
	O taste and see.

Gounod	For us the Christ.
	Lovely appear ("Redemption").
	Send out the light.
	Unfold ye portals ("Redemption").
Handel	And the Glory of the Lord ("Messiah")
	This saith the Lord ("Messiah").
Himmel	Incline thine ear.
Hopkins	Lift up your heads.
Kent	Hear my prayer.
Mendelssohn	Grant us Thy peace.
	He watching over Israel ("Elijah")
	Hear my prayer.
	How lovely are the messengers
	I waited for the Lord
	("Hymn of Praise")
	Lord God of Abraham ("Elijah")
	To God on high ("St.Paul").
Roberts	Seek ye the Lord.
Schubert	The Lord is my Shepherd.
Spohr	As pants the hart.
	Choruses from "The Last Judgment":
	All glory to the Lamb.
	And lo! a mighty host.
	Blessing, honour.
	Blest are the departed.
	Great and wonderful.
	If with your whole Hearts.
	Lord God of heaven.
	Thus saith the Lord.
Stainer	And as Moses lifted up.
	Awake thou that sleepest.
	Hosanna in the highest.
	Lead kindly light.
	Oh blessed is that land.
	They have taken away.
	Ye that shall dwell in the land.
	What are these?
	Chorus from "Crucifixion":
	Fling wide the gates
	God so loved the world
Sullivan	O love the Lord.
Trimnell	The earth is the Lord's.
Walmisley	From all that dwell.
Wesley	Blessed be the God and Father.
	O Lord, my God.
Whitfield	Behold how good and joyful.
Wood	Try me, O God.
Woodward	The radiant morn.
	The sun shall be no more.

(Duffield and Johnson were directors of music at Framlingham).

TABLE 2:

Hymn Tunes written by Directors of Music.

HYMNS FOR CHURCH AND SCHOOL (1960).

Leonard Blake (Malvern) - Ackergill (39);
Gennesareth (83ii-U); Markenham (153);
Grove Hill (164); Beacon (220).

A.Brent-Smith (Lancing) - Come, my way (261-U).

P.C.Buck (Harrow) - Gonfalon Royal (7-U); Judicum (140);
Dulcis Memoria (147); Martins (226-U).

George Dyson (Winchester) - Kingsgate (154); Winton (310).

W.H.Ferguson (Lancing) - Wolvercote (298-U).

W.Greatorex (Greshams) - Woodlands (310-U).

C.S.Lang (Christ's Hospital) - Tres Magi (70-U);
St.Enoduc (85); Euroclydon (83i);
Padstow (194-U); St.Keverne (225-U).

Henry Ley (Eton) - Ottery St.Mary (162); Honiton (281);
Rushford (308-U).

W.K.Stanton (Wellington) - Linton (130); Hambleden (260-U).

E.T.Sweeting (Winchester) - Wolvesey (219-U).

R.S.Thatcher (Harrow) - Northbrook (190-U);
Wilderness ((312-U); Lessington (330-U).

Sydney Watson (Winchester) - St.Swithun (138); Guarda (144);
Stonor (193); Meon (202-U); Lexham (293-U);
Morestead (311-U).

John Wilson (Charterhouse) - Rerum Creator (13-U);
Laleham (126-U); Ravendale (206-U);
Hadlow (216-U); Bemarton (246-U).

PRAISE AND THANKSGIVING (1985).

John Cullen (Tonbridge) - St.Alban (53).

Martin Ellis (Reigate) - Tarporley (6); Taunton School (50).

Robert Gower (Radley) - Blea Moor (13-U); Dent (57); Arten Gill (73-U).

William Llewellyn (Charterhouse) - The Beatitudes (62); Tidings (64-U).

Ken Naylor (Leys) - Coe Fen (25-U).

John Wilson (Charterhouse) - Folksong (3-U); Griffins Brook (46); Lauds (66-U).

(U = Unison Tune).

TABLE 3:

Choral works performed in Public Schools 1924-1939.

J.S.BACH: (82)	Peasant Cantata (22); Mass in B minor (10); Christmas Oratorio (8); St.John Passion (6); St.Matthew Passion (3); St.Luke Passion (3); Motet. Cantatas: 6; 11; 21; 34; 56; 60; 61; 63; 68(2); 80(3); 93; 95; 106; 140(4); 153; 176; 190; 207. Bide with us (3); Coffee Cantata; O light everlasting; Ich hin vergnugt; Ich hab in Gottes herz.
STANFORD: (72)	Songs of the Sea (17); Phaudrig Crohoore (17); Songs of the Fleet (15); The Revenge (13); Cavalier songs (4); Battle of the Baltic (2); Choral overture 'Ave atque vale' (2); Last Post (2).
HANDEL: (42)	Messiah (18); Zadok the Priest (7); Passiom (5); Acis and Galatea (3); Dettingden Te Deum (2); Samson (2); Semele, L'Allegro; Sixth Chandos; Judas Maccabaeus; The King shall rejoice; L'Allegro.
VAUGHAN WILLIAMS: (35)	Fantasia on Christmas Carols (24); Sea Symphony (4); Five Mystical songs (2); Hugh the Drover; Flourish for an occasion; Benedicite; In Windsor Forest.
PARRY: (32)	Blest Pair of Sirens (17); Ode to Music (2); Pied Piper of Hamelin (9); Ode to Eton (2); At a Solemn Musick; Lord Radnor.
SULLIVAN: (30)	Mikado (6); H.M.S.Pinafore (5); Iolanthe (5); Pirates of Penzance (4); Trial by Jury (3); Cox and Box (3); Gondoliers (3); Rudigore.
BRAHMS: (29)	Requiem (18); Song of Destiny (6); Liedeslieber (2); Vineta; Noenia; Nanie.
COLERIDGE-TAYLOR: (21)	Hiawatha's Wedding Feast (16); Hiawatha's departure (2); Death of Minehaha (2); Drake's Drum.
PURCELL: (17)	Dido and Aeneas (4); King Arthur (4); Masque from Dioclesian (2); Te Deum and Jubilate in D (2); Fairy Queen; My beloved spake; O sing unto the Lord; Come ye sons of art; Praise the Lord O my Soul.

MENDELSSOHN: (16) Elijah (6); Hymn of praise (3); 42nd Psalm; Hear my prayer; Christus; O Come let us worship; Come let us sing; St.Paul.

WAGNER: (16) arr. Fletcher Selections 'The Mastersingers'(10) arr. Fletcher Selections 'Tannhauser' (4); Grail Scene from 'Parsifal' (2)

HOLST: (14) King Estmere (6); Psalm 148 (2); Christmas Day; Festival chime (2); Autumn song; Choral Fantasy; Hymns from the Rig Veda.

THOMAS WOOD: (13) Master Mariners (5); Merchantmen (4); Ballad of Cape St.Vincent (3); Ballad of Hampstead Heath.

MOZART: (10) 'Papageno' adapted from Magic Flute (5); Requiem (5).

ELGAR: (10) From the Bavarian highlands (5); King Olaf (2); Banner of St.George (2); Music Makers.

GRIEG: (9) Landerkennung (8); The new kingdom.

HAYDN: (9) Creation (8); Te Deum.

BALFOUR GARDINER: (8) News from Whydah (4); Sir Eglamore (4); Shepherd Fennel's dance.

BIZET: (8) arr.Besly Choral selections from 'Carmen' (7) arr.Jacobson Choral selections from 'Carmen'.

BORODIN: (8) Choral dance from Prince Igor (8)

GERMAN: (7) Merrie England (7).

LAMBERT: (6) Rio Grande (6).

CHARLES WOOD: (6) St.Mark Passion (3); Ballad of Dundee (3).

WALFORD DAVIES: (5) Three Jovial Huntsmen (3); Hymn before action; Hervie Riel.

WEBER: (5) arr.Harrison. Choral arrangement of 'Invitation to the dance' (5).

DYSON: (4)	In honour of the City (2); The seekers; Reveille; Canterbury Pilgrims.
LANG: (4)	Lochinvar (2); Jackdaw of Rheims (2).
DUNHILL: (4)	Tubal Cain (4).

TABLE 4:

Choral works performed in Public Schools 1945-1958.

HANDEL: (105)	Messiah (47); Zadok the Priest (16); St.Cecelia's Ode (7); Acis and Galatea (6); Samson (6); St.John Passion (3); L'Allegro (4); Israel in Egypt; Chandos Anthem; Belshazzar; Semele (2); Judas Maccabaeus; Dettingden 'Te Deum' (5); Mirth and Melancholy (2); My heart is inditing.
BACH: (61)	St.Matthew Passion (20); Mass in B minor (10); Christmas Oratorio (8); St.John Passion (7); Peasant Cantata (8); Cantata No.11 (3); Cantata No.140 (3); St.Luke Passion (2); Magnificat (3); Cantata 68; Cantata 'My spirit was in heaviness' (2); Cantata 6, 34, 106; Motet 'Sing ye to the Lord' and 'Jesus priceless treasure'; Cantata 'The sage of Sheba'; Cantata 'Come Redeemer'.
VAUGHAN WILLIAMS: (53)	Fantasia on Christmas Carols (13); Hundreth Psalm (9); Te Deum (5); Hugh the Drover (3); Serenade to Music (4); Thanksgiving for Victory (3); Folk Songs from Somerset (2); In Windsor Forest (3); Toward the Unknown Region; The New Commonwealth; Four English Folk Songs; Sea Songs; Songs of Travel; Five Mystical Songs (3); Lord, Thou has been our Refuge; Hodie; O Clap your hands.
BRAHMS: (45)	Requiem (19); Song of Destiny (11); Liebeslieder Waltzes (9); Alto Rhapsody (4); Vineta; Gypsy Songs.
SULLIVAN: (36)	Trial by Jury (10); HMS Pinafore (7); Pirates of Penzance (5); Iolanthe (3); Mikado (4); Patience (2); The Gondoliers (2); Princess Ida. Yeoman of the Guard; Rudigore.

PARRY: (35) Blest Pair of Sirens (27); The Pied Piper (3) Ode to Music (3); At a Solemn Musik; St.Cecelia's Day.

HAYDN: (31) Creation (22); The Seasons (5); Imperial Mass. Mass No.3; Mass in D minor & B flat.

MOZART: (27) Requiem Mass (17); Bastien and Bastienne (3); Mass in C minor (2); Splendente te Deus (2); Papageno, an adaption from 'Magic Flute' (2); Coronation Mass; Exsultate Jubilate.

PURCELL: (24) O Sing unto the Lord (4); King Arthur (3); Dido and Aeneas (4); Fairy Queen (3); Te Deum; Jubilate in D; Soul of the world (2); Ode for St.Cecelia; Masque from Dioclesian; Welcome Ode; My heart is inditing; Coronation Anthem; Come, ye Sons of art.

STANFORD: (22) Songs of the Sea (10); Songs of the Fleet (5); The Revenge (3); Phaudrig Crohoore (3); Cavalier Songs.

DYSON: (16) Song for a Festival (2); Songs of courage (3); Choral Hymns (2); Canterbury Pilgrims (3); In honour of the city (2); Four songs for sailors; The Blacksmiths; Poet's Hymn; Choral Fantasia 'In honour of the City'.

ELGAR: (10) Songs from the Bavarian Highlands (7); Dream of Gerontius; Banner of St.George; King Olaf.

FAURE: (9) Requiem (9).

COLERIDGE-TAYLOR: (9) Hiawatha (9)

MENDELSSOHN: (8) Elijah (4); Hymn of Praise (2); Israel in Egypt; Walpurgisnacht.

GIBBONS: (7) O Clap your hands (3); Hosanna to the Son (3); This is the record of John.

BYRD: (7) Mass for Three voices (4); Haec Dies: Mass for Four voices (2); Three Penetential Psalms.

VERDI: (6) Requiem (4); Stabat Mater (2).

BRITTEN: (6) Ceremony of Carols (2); Let's make an opera (2); The little sweep; St.Nicholas.

BORODIN: (5) Choral dances from 'Prince Igor' (4); Polovtsian Dances.

DVORAK: (5) Mass in D (2); Gypsy Songs (2); Te Deum.

HOLST: (5) Choral Fantasy 'Christmas Day' (3); Psalm 148; Psalm 100.

LAMBERT: (5) Rio Grande (5).

SCHUTZ: (5) Seven last words (4); Christmas Story.

WOOD: (5) Daniel and the Lions (5).

TABLE 5:

Choral Awards to Oxford and Cambridge 1889 - 1940.

1889: G.Radcliffe - CS - King's (C) - Malvern.

1895: C.H.Reissman - CS - St.John's (C) - King's London.
W.R.Menzies - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Rossall.

1896: R.E.Burlingham - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Bedford G.S.

1897: G.D.Hignett - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Rossall.
J.Goss - CE - Jesus (C) - Rossall.

1898: F.G.Dyer - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred music (C) - Cheltenham College.

1899: A.M.Nicholl - CS - St.John's (C) - Bradfield.
R.H.Fry - CS - Jesus (C) - Chigwell.
R.J.Stone - CE - Jesus (C) - Dover.
A.H.R.Robinson - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred music - Clare (C) - Harrow.

1900: F.E.E.Harvey - Stewart of Rannoch scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Perse, Cambridge.
H.J.W.Wrentford - CE - St.John's (C) - St.Edmund's Canterbury.
C.H.Woodman - CE - Queen's (C) - Rossall.

1901: G.W.Brewster - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Clifton.

1902: H.S.Sanders - CS - Magdalen (O) - Marlborough.

1903: C.B.L.Yearsley - CS - St.John's (C) - Bradfield.

1904: T.F.Bowman - CE - St.Catherine's (C) - Abingdon.

1905: ? - CE - Jesus (C) - Perse, Cambridge.
H.T.Depre - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Clifton.
A.Handcock - CE - Christ's (C) - Grantham.

1906: F.C.Dickson - CE - St.John's (C) - Aldenham
E.H.P.Mauncey - CE - St.John's (C) - Highgate.
H.S.Forester - CS - Magdalen (O) - Malvern.
E.G.Tewson - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Malvern.
R.C.Cutter - CE - Jesus (C) - Rossall.

1907: W.E.Barber - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Bradford G.S.
H.C.H.Lane - CE - St.John's (C) - Dean Close.
H.W.Thomas - CE - Jesus (C) - Dean Close.

R.N.Shelton - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Rossall.

1910: G.W.B.Wileman - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Berkhamstead.
F.P.Haines - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Leicester, Wyggeston.
A.J.Willink - CS - King's (C) - Repton.

1911: P.V.Kemp - CS - St.John's (C) - St.John's Leatherhead.

1913: E.O.Whitfield - CE - Gonville & Caius (C) - Denstone.
J.W.Hinchliffe - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Lancing.

1914: B.M.Peek - Stewart of Ranoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Malvern.

1915: R.K.Spurrell - CE - Christ's (C) - Lancing.
J.D.H.Madrell - CS - King's (C) - St.John's Leatherhead.

1919: J.M.West - CS - King's (C) - Shrewsbury.

1920: I.M.Cross - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Lancing.
A.B.Carter - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Lancing.
St.J.F.Bell - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Lancing.
N.H.R.Matfield - CS - King's (C) - St.John's Leatherhead.
E.A.C.Buckmaster - CS - New College (O) - Rossall.

1921: D.H.Belfrage - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Bradfield.
A.M.Whiteley - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) St.John's Leatherhead.
O.Fulljames - CS - St.John's (C) - Sutton Valance.

1922: C.G.Pilgrim - CS - King's (C) - Christ's Hospital.
J.F.Crowther - CS - King's (C) - Lancing.
P.D.Fox - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Lancing.
K.Evers Swindell - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Shrewsbury.

1923: J.Dykes Bower - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Cheltenham.
A.F.M.Beales - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Cheltenham.
J.M.Tatton - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - King William's Isle of Man.
C.B.McNair - CS - New College (O) - Rossall.
G.V.Crabtree - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Rossall.

1924: B.D.Harris - CS - King's (C) - Haileybury.
J.H.Tylee - CS - King's (C) - Haileybury.
J.R.Freebairn-Smith - CS - New College (O) - St.Edward's Oxford.
Wynne-Woolley - CS - Christ's (C) - King's Worcester.

1925: E.C.Butterworth - CE - Christ's (C) - Christ's Hospital.
E.R.St.A.Davies - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Felsted.
J.A.Ramsbotham - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Haileybury.
R.T.Davidson - CS - King's (C) - Lancing.
H.F.Wright - CS - Trinity (C) - Haileybury.

1926: J.G.Hall - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Jesus - St.Edmund's Canterbury.
W.Dykes Bower - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Cheltenham.
L.M.Leakey - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - St.John's Leatherhead.
S.M.Frazer - CS - St.Catharine's (C) - Lancing.
V.H.P.House - CS - King's (C) - Marlborough.
P.E.Vernon - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Oundle.

1927: M.H.R.Synge - CS - King's (C) - King's Bruton.
F.L.Hetley - CS - King's (C) - Clifton.
E.W.Allan - CS - King's (C) - Highgate.
W.A.Hepher - CS - King's (C) - Lancing.
J.O.Whitehouse - CS - Trinity (C) - Caterham.
G.W.G.Hacks - CS - Christ's (C) - Highgate.

1928: R.G.A.Waterfield - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Bradfield.
M.D.Rhoden - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Hurstpierpoint.
A.C.Lewis - CS - Christ's (C) - St.John's leatherhead.
G.H.Knight - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music - St.John's (C) - Oundle.
P.A.Jackson - CS - New College (O) - St.Edward's Oxford.

1929: E.A.Lane - CS - Christ's (C) - St.John's leatherhead.

1930: C.E.Curtis - CE - Christ's (C) - Alleyns.
E.T.Stephens - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - St.Edmund's Canterbury.

1931: C.G.H.Wood - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Trent.
G.W.C.Meikle - CS - St.Catharine's (C) - St.Bees.
C.I.Record - CS - Magdalen (O) - King's Worcester.
L.C.Gutsell - CE - St.John's (C) - Alleyns.
F.H.Kennard - CS - Trinity (C) - Alleyns.
J.M.Will - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Brentwood.
H.W.Waddmas - CS - King's (C) - King's Bruton.
O.M.Bruce-Payne - CS - King's (C) - St.Edmund's.
J.H.Corner - CS - King's (C) - City of London.
C.D.G.Perkins - CS - King's (C) - Clifton.

1932: J.R.Phelps - CS - King's (C) - Felsted.
W.C.M.Cochrane - CS - King's (C) - Cheltenham College.
W.H.Renshaw - Stewart of Rannoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - St.John's Leatherhead.
R.T.H.Redpath - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Ley's
B.F.Bulmer - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Alleyns.

P.G.Mauger - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Blundell's.
D.G.Longden - CS - Emmanuel (C) - Bloxham.
R.W.Powell - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Cheltenham.
R.E.Marsden - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Cheltenham.

1933: H.L.Hunter - CE - Clare (C) - Durham.
E.F.Hall - CS - King's (C) - Alleyns
D.B.Coney - CS - King's (C) - King's Bruton.
J.Laughlin - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Alleyns.
B.S.Drewe - CS - St.John's (C) - Christ's Hospital.

1934: A.G.Glover - CE - Peterhouse (C) - Cranleigh.
V.Thorburn - CS - Corpus Christi (C) - Emmanuel.
A.K.H.Jones - CS - Christ's (C) - St.John's leatherhead.
F.C.Waddams - CS - Christ's (C) - Magdalen, Oxford.
W.Davies - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Alleyns.

1935: C.M.E.Fishbourne - CS - Trinity (C) - Malvern.
A.T.Parsons - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Alleyns.

1936: C.C.Perry - CS - King's (C) - Alleyns.
H.E.Bowman - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Alleyns.
D.G.C.M.Senior - CS - Magdalen (O) - King's Canterbury.
J.R.Stainer - Stewart of Ranoch Scholarship for Sacred Music (C) - Charterhouse.

1937: A.M.Turner - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Cranleigh.
P.Watson - CE - Gonville & Caius (C) - Eastbourne.
H.S.Clayton - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Shrewsbury
C.P.M.Jones - CS - New College (O) - Winchester.
D.C.Clayton - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Alleyns.
G.J.Lester - CS - Trinity (C) - St.Edmund's Canterbury.

1938: R.F.Tomlinson - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Cranleigh
B.J.Garnier - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Eltham.
G.M.Homan - CS - St.John's (C) - Malvern.
E.L.Hart - CS - St.John's (C) - Alleyns.
W.D.Latham - CE - Christ Church (O) - Alleyns.
H.V.Hancock - CE - Christ Church (O) - Alleyns.

1939: G.H.Forsyth - CS - King's (C) - Felsted.
E.P.G.Barrett - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Felsted.
W.H.Todds - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Alleyns.
G.P.Olive - CE - Corpus Christi (C) - Bradfield.
W.P.Kelly - CE - Gonville & Caius (C) - Shrewsbury
H.A.Marriott - CE - Gonville & Caius (C) - Alleyns.
T.E.B.de Hamel - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Tonbridge.
Scholarship for Sacred Music - Alleyns.
D.M.Cary-Elwes - CE - Clare (C) - Bedford Grammar.
B.C.C.Holmes - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Alleyns.
D.A.Wilkinson - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - King's Canterbury.

1940: B.H.Dunn - CS - Gonville & Caius (C) - Magdalen, Oxford.
B.H.Gibson - CE - Gonville & Caius (C) - Alleyns.
E.B.Branwell - CE - St.Catharine's (C) - Alleyns.
J.M.Popkin - CE - St.Catharine's (C) St.Edmund's Canterbury.
J.R.Williams - CS - St.John's (C) - King's Canterbury.
P.H.Starnes - CS - St.John's (C) - King's Canterbury.
D.J.G.Gowing - CS - King's (C) - Christ's Hospital.

C = Cambridge.
O = Oxford.
CE = Choral Exhibition.
CS = Choral Scholarship.

TABLE 6:

Music performed in Framlingham College Chapel 1988-1990.

Evening Services:

Blair in B minor, Dyson in D, Howells in G, Jackson in G, Stainer in B flat, Stanford in G, Stanford in A and Watson in E.

Morning Services:

Britten Festival 'Te Deum', Britten in C, Stanford in B flat and Wadely in E flat.

Anthems:

Bainton	And I saw a new heaven
Bairstow	The Lamentations
	Blessed City, heavenly salem
Balfour Gardiner	Evening Hymn
Battishill	O Lord, look down from heaven
Boyce	Turn Thee unto me O Lord
Boyle	Thou, O God, art praised in Zion
Britten	Antiphon
Bruckner	Locus Iste
Dyson	Give us the wings of faith
Byrd	Ave verum
	Teach me O Lord
Eccard	When to the Temple Mary went
Elgar	Ave Verum
	Give unto the Lord
	The spirit of the Lord
Faure	Cantique de Jean Racine
Finzi	Welcome sweet and sacred Feast
	God is gone up
Gibbons	Hosanna to the Son of David
Greene	Thou visitest the earth
Harwood	O how glorious!
Haydn	Insanae et vanae curae
Howells	Take him earth for cherishing
Ireland	Greater love hath no man
Joubert	O Lorde the maker
Leighton	Let all the world
Loosemore	O Lord increase our faith
Mozart	Ave Verum
Mudd	Let they merciful ears
Parry	I was glad
Purcell	Funeral sentences
Sheppard	And when the builders
Stainer	God so loved the world
Stanford	Beati quorum via
	Justorum Animae
Tallis	If ye love me
Walton	Set me as a seal
S.S.Wesley	Blessed be the God and father
	Thou wilt keep him

TABLE 7:

Music Awards from Choir Schools 1982-1988.

King's Cambridge:

1982: 5 left 4 with awards
St.Edward's; Westminster; Clifton; Edinburgh Academy.
1983: 4 left all with awards
Oundle; King's Canterbury (2); Sevenoaks.
1984: 4 left all with awards
Lancing; Ellesmere; Westminster; Charterhouse.
1986: 6 left 5 with music scholarships
Trent College; Bedford School (Ass. Pl.); Uppingham; Tonbridge; Lancing.
1988: 6 left all with awards
Oakham; Rugby; Eton; (2) Bedford; Charterhouse.

St.John's Cambridge:

1982: 6 left all with awards:
Aldenham; Eton (2); Marlborough; Uppingham; Framlingham.
1983: 3 left all with awards
Marlborough; Bedford Modern; Oakham.
1984: 3 left all with awards
Uppingham; Framlingham; The Leys.
1986: 4 left 3 with awards
Old Swinford Hospital School; Eton; Winchester.
1988: 7 left 6 with awards
Blue Coat Birmingham; King's Canterbury; Oakham; Harrow; Charterhouse; Winchester.

Canterbury:

1982: 7 left 6 with awards
King's Canterbury (2); St.Edmund's (3); Glenalmond.
1983: 5 left 3 with awards
St.Edmund's (2); King's Canterbury.
1984: 5 left 2 with awards:
Tonbridge; Eton
1986: 6 left all with awards
Leighton Park; Chigwell; Purcell School; St.Edmund's; University College; King's Canterbury.
1988: 5 left 4 with awards
St.Edmund's; King's Grantham; Whitgift; King's Canterbury;

Chichester:

1982: 5 left 4 with awards
Sherborne; St.Paul's; King's Canterbury; Ardingly
1983: 4 left all with awards
Hurstpierpoint; Tonbridge; City of London; Harrow.
1984: 1 left without an award.

1986: 5 left 3 with awards
St.Edward's Oxford (2); Charterhouse.
1988: 3 left 2 with awards
Hurstpierpoint; Radley.

Durham:

1982: 4 left 2 with awards
Durham; King's Canterbury
1983: 5 left 2 with awards
Malvern; Sedbergh
1984: 7 left no awards
1986: 3 left 2 with awards
Blundell's; Bloxham.
1988: 4 left 3 with awards
Durham; Leeds Grammar; Uppingham.

Lichfield:

1982: 6 left 3 awards
Malvern; Shrewsbury; Tetenhall.
1983: 5 left 3 awards
Shrewsbury; Eton; Repton.
1984: 4 left 3 awards
Repton (2); Shrewsbury.
1986: 1 left no award.
1988: 7 left 5 with awards
Blundell's; Eton; King Edward's Birmingham; Ellesmere;
Oundle.

Lincoln:

1982: 4 left 2 awards
Hurstpierpoint; Worksop.
1983: 4 left 1 award
Marlborough.
1984: 4 left 1 award
Denstone
1986: 10 left 2 awards
Uppingham: Sedbergh.
1988: Leavers not given.

Westminster Abbey:

1982: 11 left 6 with awards
Bryanston; Cranleigh; Alleyn's; Uppingham (3)
1983: 8 left 4 with awards
Bryanston; Eastbourne; Rossall; King's Canterbury.
1984: 9 left 5 with awards
City of London; St.edward6s; King's bruton (2); Charterhouse.
1986: 9 left 8 with awards
Alleyn's school;(2) King's Canterbury; Reed's; St.Edmund's;
Oundle; Stowe; Marlborough; Uppingham.
1988: 8 left all with awards.

Harrow; Stowe; Merchant Taylors'; Hurstpierpoint; Bishop's Storford; St.Peter's; Uppingham; Lancing.

Westminster Cathedral:

1982: 8 left 5 with awards
Ampleforth; Trinity Croydon; Downside; King's Wimbledon; Eton.
1983: 7 left 6 with awards
Downside (2); Ampleforth (2); Stonyhurst; Prior Park.
1984: 4 left 3 with awards
Harrow; Downside; Prior Park.
9 left 6 with awards
(3) Stonyhurst; (3) Oratory; St.Paul's; Ampleforth.
1988: 5 left all with awards
Ampleforth; Stonyhurst; (3) Oratory.

Christ Church, Oxford:

1982: 3 left all with awards
Canford; Eton; Radley.
1983: 4 left 1 with award
Oakham
1984: 2 left both with awards
Winchester; Olleson.
1986: 7 left 5 with awards
Eton; Marlborough; Cranleigh; King's Canterbury; Shrewsbury.
1988: 4 left all with awards
Wellington; King's Canterbury; King's Bruton; Dean Close.

New College, Oxford:

1982: 5 left 4 with awards
Sherborne; Marlborough; St.Edward's; Winchester.
1983: 3 left 2 awards
Winchester (2)
1984: 4 left 2 awards
Bedales; Abingdon
1986: 4 left 2 with awards.
Abingdon; St.Edward's.
1988: 6 left 4 with awards.
St.Edward's (2); 2 Abingdon.

Ripon:

1982: 4 left all with awards
Clifton; Rossall; St.John's Leatherhead; Leeds Grammar.
1983: 5 left 3 with awards
Malvern; Rossall; Tonbridge.
1984: 6 left 2 with awards
Malvern; Shrewsbury.
1986: 4 left 1 with award
Sedbergh.

1988: 5 left all with awards
Malvern; Ellesmere; Uppingham; Giggleswick; Bootham.

Salisbury:

1982: 4 left all with awards
St.Edward's; Canford; Dean Close; Oundle.
1983: 5 left all with awards
Milton Abbey; Sevenoaks; Canford; St.Edward's; QEH Bristol.
1984: 5 left 4 with awards
Hurspierpoint; Gresham's; Clayesmore; Lancing.
1986: 7 left all with awards
Lancing; Bryanston; St.Edward's; Pangbourne;
King's Canterbury; Uppingham; Framlingham.
1988: 5 left all with awards
King's School Bruton; Marlborough; Canford; Sherborne;
Winchester.

St.Paul's:

1982: 8 left 2 with awards
Bishop's Stortford; Cranleigh.
1983: 10 left 4 with awards
Lancing; King's Canterbury; Seaford; Cheltenham.
1984: 6 left 5 with awards
Bishop's Stortford; Wellington; Marlborough; Bryanston;
Radley.
1986: 7 left 4 with awards
Sedbergh; Monmouth; QEH Bristol; Ardingly.
1988: 9 left 7 with awards
Ardingly; Uppingham; Lancing; Eton; City of London; Ipswich;
Eton.

Tewkesbury:

1982: 3 left 2 with awards
Haileybury; Leighton Park.
1983: 3 left no awards
1984: 6 left 3 with awards
Dean Close; Malvern; Repton.
1986: 6 left 3 with awards
Radley; Wrekin; Blue Coat Reading.
1988: 3 left all with awards
Kingham Hill school; Cheltenham College; Worcester R.G.S.

Winchester Cathedral:

1982: 8 left 7 with awards
Stowe; Seaford; Cranleigh; Uppingham; Bryanston; Radley;
King's Bruton.
1983: 4 left 2 with awards
Cranleigh; Charterhouse.
1984: 3 left 2 with awards
Cranleigh; Uppingham.

1986: 4 left all with awards
Eton; Epsom; Tonbridge; St.John's Leatherhead.
1988: 4 left all with awards
Eton; Winchester; Charterhouse; St.Edward's.

Winchester College:

1982: 4 left no awards
1983: 2 left 1 award
Winchester
1984: 4 left 3 awards
Downside: Radley, Lord Wandsworth.
1986: 1 left
1988: 4 left 3 with awards
(2) Winchester; Ardingly.

Windsor:

1982: 5 left 1 award
Eton.
1983: 5 left 4 awards
Haileybury; Reed's school; St.Edward's; Harrow.
1984: 8 left 4 with awards
St.Edward's; Malvern; Hurspierpoint; Harrow.
1986: 5 left all with awards
Stowe; Tonbridge; Radley; King's Canterbury; Malvern
1988: 6 left all with awards
Trinity Croydon; Harrow; Malvern; Eton; St.Edward's;
Hurstpierpoint.

York:

1982: 4 left 1 award
RGS Guilford
1983: 5 left 3 awards
St.Peter's; St.Bees; Durham.
1984: 3 left no awards
1986: 5 left 3 awards
Lancing; Bloxham; St.Peter's.
1988: 8 left 7 with awards
(3) Bootham; St.Peter's; Lancing; Bloxham; Pocklington.

TABLE 8:

Instrumental Works performed in Public Schools 1924 - 1939.

MOZART: (110)	Symphony in G minor (21); Overture Figaro (10); Overture Magic Flute (10); Horn Concerto in E flat (8); Piano concerto in A (7); Overture 'Il Seraglio' (6); Eine Kleine Nachtmusik (6); Symphony in E flat (5); Piano concerto in D minor (5); Flute Concerto No.2 (3); Jupiter (3); E flat Trio for Piano, Violin & Viola (2); Quintet in E flat for Wind and Piano (2); Overture 'Cosi Fan tutte' (2); Haffner Symphony; Symphony in B flat (Minuet & Trio); Piano concerto in C; Horn concerto in D; Adelaide Concerto; Piano concerto in B flat; Bassoon Concerto (1st movt); Clarinet Concerto; Oboe Concerto in E flat (Romanze & Rondo); Violin Concerto in D (1st movt); Concerto for 2 pianos (Finale); Impressario Overture; 'Titus' Overture; String quartet in G; Trio for Clarinet, viola and piano; Clarinet Quintet (3rd movt); String Quintet in G minor.
BEETHOVEN: (72)	'Egmont' Overture (13); Symphony No.1 (9); Symphony No.5 (9); 'Coriolan' overture (8) 'Prometheus' Overture (6); Piano concerto No.3 in C minor (5); Symphony No.2 (4); Symphony No.8 (3); Quintet for piano & wind (3); Piano Concerto No.5 (3); Symphony No.4 (2); Symphony No.7 (2); Eroica Symphony; Piano Concerto in C; Leonora Overture No.2; Leonara Overture No.3; Selection from 'The Ruins of Athens'; Trio for flute, Violin and Viola; Horn Sonata.
SCHUBERT: (59)	'Unfinished' Symphony (22);Overture and Ballet music from 'Rosamunde' (18); Symphony in C (6); Marche Militaire (4); Symphony in B flat (3); Symphony No.5 (2); Symphony No.3 in D ; Symphony No.7; Tragic Symphony; Piano Trio in B flat; Octet.
HAYDN: (53)	London Symphony No.104 in D (21); Military Symphony (7); Symphony in E flat. (4); Surprise Symphony (4); Symphony No.101 in D major (3); Symphony in D minor (2); String Quartet 'Emperor'(2); Symphony No.2; Symphony no.7 in C; Oxford Symphony; Horn Signal Symphony (Minuet); Symphony in C (1st movt.); Symphony in G; Symphony No.103 'Drum roll' (1st movt); Violin concerto (1st

movt); Cello concerto (slow movt); String quartet in E flat

J.S.BACH: (45) Brandenburg Concerto No.2 (7); Double Violin Concerto in D minor (6); Concerto in C minor for two pianos (6); Suite No.3 in D (5); Violin concerto in A minor (4) ; Piano concerto in D minor (4) ; Suite in B minor for flute and strings (3); Harpsichord Concerto in D (2); Concerto for 4 pianos (2) Chromatic Fantasia; Flute Sonata in F; Brandeburg Concerto in F; Brandenburg Concerto No.4; Brandenburg Concerto No.5.

MENDELSSOHN: (36) Piano concerto in G minor (7); Fingal's Cave Overture (6); Ruy Blas overture (6); Italian Symphony (5); Cornelius March (2); Overture 'Oberon' (2); Violin Concerto (Andante); Cello Concerto in D; A Midsummer's nights dream; War march of the priests.

HANDEL: (30) Concerto Grosso in B flat (5); Water music (5); Occasional Overture (4); Concerto grosso No.1 in G (3) Fireworks Suite (3); Minuet from 'Berenice' (2); Overture to Samson (2); Overture to Otho (2); Overture Ptolemy; Concerto Grosso Op.6 No.8; Organ concerto No.2; Organ concerto No.4

BRAHMS: (24) Haydn Variations (5); Hungarian Dances (3); Clarinet sonatas (3); Symphony in C minor (1st movement); Academic Festival Overture; G Minor Rhapsody; Violin Sonata (1st movt); Variations on a Theme of Handel; Violin sonata in A; Violin Sonata in F minor; Piano Quintet; Horn trio; Vineta; Noenia; Nanie.

SCHUMANN: (18) Piano concerto (12); Horn Concerto (Romance) (2) Rhenish symphony (1st movt); Processional: Etudes Symphoniques (Finale); Piano Quintet in E flat

ELGAR: (15) Pomp & Circumstance March No.4 (8); Theme & Nimrod Variation (2); Three Bavarian Dances (2); Pomp & Circumstance March No.2 & No.5; Serenade for Strings.

GRIEG: (13) Piano concerto in A minor (6); Norwegian Dances (2); Peer Gynt suite (2); Sigurd Jorsalfar' suite; Holberg Suite; The new Kingdom.

WAGNER: (13) Prelude to Act 3 'Lohengrin' (3); Siegfried Idyll (3); Dance of the Apprentices from 'The

Mastersingers'(2); March from 'The Mastersingers' (2); Grand March form 'Tannhauser'(2); Parsifal (Act 1).

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS: (9) Folk Song Suite (4); Towards the unknown region (2); Ballet 'Old King Cole'; In Windsor Forest; Sea Symphony.

SAINT-SAENS: (8) Carnival of the animals (4); Dance Macabre; Allegro Appassionata for Piano and Orchestra; Piano Concerto in G minor; Scherzo for two Pianos.

SIBELIUS: (8) Valse Triste (6); Finlandia; Karelia Suite.

WEBER: (8) Overture 'Der Freischutz' (4); Concertstuck; Overture 'Oberon'(8); Overture 'Euryanthe'.

JARNEFELT: (8) Praeludium (8).

DVORAK: (7) 'New World' Symphony (1st movement) (6); Slavonic Dances.

WARLOCK: (7) Capriol Suite (7).

QUILTER: (7) Children's Overture (3); Three English Dances (3); As you like it.

BIZET: (6) L'Arlessiene Suite (3); Overture to 'Carmen'; Jeux d'Enfants; Petite Suite.

BOYCE: (5) Symphony in F (2); Symphony in D; Symphony No.4; Symphony No.5.

PURCELL: (4) King Arthur (2); Dances from Fairy Queen; Suite: 'The Virtuous wife'.

TCHAIKOVSKY: (4) Nutcracker Suite (4.)

TABLE 9:

Instrumental Works performed at Eton College 1926 - 1939.

1926
Bach: Concerto in C for two pianos.(First Movement)
Beethoven: Symphony 2 (First Movement)
Schumann: Piano Concerto (First Movement)
Mozart: Overture Figaro

1927
Mozart: E flat Trio for Piano, Violin & Viola.
Brahms: Variations on a Theme of Handel.
Mendelssohn: Fingals Cave
Bach: Suite for flute & strings.
Mozart: String quartet in G
Brahms: Violin sonata in A
Bach: Flute sonata in F

1928
Purcell: 'Dioclesian'
Beethoven: Leonora Overture No.3
Sibelius: 'Finlandia'
Mozart: Trio in E flat for Violin ,Viola & Piano
Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No.2
Walford Davies: 'Three Jovial Huntsmen'
Haydn: Symphony no.7 in C
Schumann: Piano quintet (First Movement)

1929:
Mozart: Magic Flute overture
Schubert: Unfinished symphony.
Grieg: Peer Gynt Suite.
Boyce: Symphony in D
Elgar: Pomp & Circumstance March No.2

1930
Purcell: King Arthur

1931
Bach: Concerto in C minor for two pianos
Bach: Concerto for two violins

1932
Nicolai: Merry Wives of Windsor overture
Blow: Suite 'Venus and Adonis'
Mendelssohn: Hebrides overture
Warlock: Capriol Suite

1933:
Mozart: Symphony No.38 (Adagio)
Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto (Slow movement)
Weber: Der Freischutz

Mozart: Symphony in G minor (First Movement)
Gluck: Ballet music from 'Orpheus'
Brahms: Vineta

1934:
Handel: Overture 'Samson'
Mozart: Symphony in E flat (Minuet)
Elgar: From the Bavarian Highlands

1936:
Schubert: Symphony in C (Second Movement)
Haydn: London Symphony (Minuet)
Mozart: Symphony in E flat
Beethoven: Symphony No.5 (First Movement)

1937:
Haydn: Clock Symphony (Minuet)
Sibelius: Valse Triste
Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No.2
Beethoven: Symphony in C (2nd movement)

1938:
Jarnefelt: Praeludium
Ravel: Bolero
Mozart: Piano Concerto in A (First Movement)

1939:
Handel: Overture to Otho
Warlock: Capriol suite
Beethoven: Symphony No.2 (2nd & 3rd Movement)

TABLE 10:

Instrumental Works performed at Wellington College 1926 - 1939.

1926:
Mozart: Overture Magic Flute
Brahms: Symphony in C minor (First Movement)
Beethoven: Symphony in C minor (First Movement)
Elgar: Serenade for strings.
Wagner: Prelude to Act 3 Lohengrin.
Mozart: Symphony in G minor
Sibelius: Valse Triste.
Schubert: Symphony No.5.
Bach: Double Violin Concerto.
Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto (Andante)
Beethoven: Symphony No.1
Franck: Symphonic variations
Berlioz: Hungarian Marches

1927:
Mendelssohn: 'Capriccio' for Pianoforte and orchestra.

1928:
Schubert: Symphony in B flat
Mozart: Magic Flute Overture
Dyson: Suite for flute & strings
Vaughan Williams: Sea Symphony (Three Movements)
Haydn: Symphony in E flat.
Mendelssohn: Fingal's Cave
Mozart: Magic flute
Beethoven: Symphony No.7 (Two Movements)
Bruch: Kol Nidrei
Mozart: Horn Concerto in E flat.

1929:
Brahms-Haydn: Variations
Mozart: Symphony in G minor
Mozart: Overture 'Figaro'
Beethoven: Symphony No.8 (Two Movements)
Mozart: Symphony in E flat
Beethoven: Quintet for piano & wind.

1930:
Jarnefelt: Praeludium
Mozart: Piano Concerto in D minor
Beethoven: Symphony No.2

1931:
Schumann: Piano Concerto in A minor (First Movement)
Bach: Concerto for four pianos
Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No.2

1932:
Brahms-Haydn: Variations
Rachmaninov: Piano concerto in C minor, the solo piano part being played by a different boy in each of the three movements.
Beethoven: Piano concerto in C minor
Beethoven: Symphony in A (Second Movement)
Haydn: Symphony in E flat (First Movement)
Brahms-Haydn: Variations

1933:
Mendelssohn: Overture 'Son & Stranger'
Beethoven: Symphony in D (last two movements)

1934:
Mozart: Oboe Concerto in E flat (Romanze & Rondo)
Schubert: Symphony in C
Schumann: Piano concerto in A minor
Vaughan Williams: Towards the unknown region

1935:
Haydn: Symphony in D minor
Beethoven: Piano concerto in C minor
Haydn: Symphony in D minor

Haydn: Symphony in D minor
Bach: Piano concerto in C minor
Mozart: Horn concerto in E flat

1936:
Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Piano & orch.
Haydn: Symphony in C (First Movement)

1937:
Haydn: Symphony in G
Mendelssohn: Italian Symphony
Clifford: Kentish suite
Beethoven: Symphony in C
Vaughan Williams: Flourish for an occasion
Schubert: Symphony in B flat (Minuet)

1938:
Mozart: Impressario Overture
Schumann: Piano concerto

1939:
Haydn: Military symphony (Two movements)
Schubert: Unfinished Symphony (First Movement)
Mozart: Adelaide Concerto

TABLE 11:

Instrumental Works performed in Public Schools 1945-1958.

MOZART: (131) Piano Concerto in A (9); Eine Kleine Nachtmusik (9); Clarinet Concerto (7); Jupiter Symphony (6); Flute Concerto K.315 (6); Piano Concerto in D minor K.466 (5); Horn Concerto No.3 in E flat (5); Clarinet Quintet (4) Overture 'Titus' (4); Overture 'Impresario'(4); Violin Concerto in A (4); Piano Concerto in C minor (4); Oboe Concerto in C (3); Fantasia in F minor (3); Overture 'Il Seraglio' (3); Overture 'Magic Flute' (3); Overture 'Don Giovanni' (3); Symphony in E flat (3); Symphony in G K.318 (2); Sinfonia Concertante (2); Double Piano Concerto in E flat (2); Overture 'Marriage of Figaro' (2).

BEETHOVEN: (97) Symphony No.5 (13); Piano Concerto No.3 in C minor (12); Symphony No.1 (11); Piano Concerto No.1 in C (8); Symphony No.8 (5); 'Egmont' Overture (5); Leonora Overture No.3 (3); Spring Sonata (3); Piano Concerto No.5 'Emperor' (3); Piano Concerto No.4 in (3); Symphony No.7 (2).

HAYDN: (72) Trumpet Concerto (14); 'London' Symphony (12); 'Military' Symphony (7); 'Surprise' Symphony (6); Piano Concerto in D (6); 'Clock' Symphony (6); Symphony in C (3); 'Farewell' Symphony (2).

BACH: (49) Double Violin concerto (8); Concerto for 3 Pianos (4); Concerto for 2 Pianos (3); Suite No.2 in B minor (3); Brandenburg Concerto No.3 (3); Brandenburg Concerto No.5 (3); Violin Concerto in A minor (3); Suite No.3 in D major (3); Brandenburg Concerto No.1 in F (2); Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue (2); 'Great' G minor Fantasia and Fugue in G minor (2).

SCHUBERT: (40) 'Unfinished' Symphony (13);'Rosamunde' Overture (9); Symphony No.9 (6); Symphony No.7 (2); Octet (2); Marche Militaire (2); Symphony No.5 (2).

HANDEL: (35) 'Water Music' Suite (11); 'Royal Fireworks' Suite (8) Oboe Concerto in B flat (3); Organ Concerto No.2 (3); Overture 'Occasional Oratorio' (2).

MENDELSSOHN: (22) Overture 'Ruy Blas' (7); Violin Concerto (4); Symphony No.4 'Italian'(4); Hebrides Overture (3).

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS: (21) English Folk Song Suite (5); Rhosymedre (4); Rohosymedre (4);Thanksgiving for Victory (3); In Windsor Forest (2); Folk Songs from Somerset (2).

PURCELL: Suite 'King Arthur' (6); Suite 'Fairy Queen' (4);
(19) Suite 'The virtuous wife' (4);
Suite 'Rival Sisters (2).

ELGAR: Pomp and Circumstance March No.4 (4);
(17) Enigma Variations (Selections) - (4);
Pomp and Circumstance March No.1 (3).

GRIEG: Piano Concerto (11).
(17)

SCHUMANN: Piano Concerto (10); Piano Quintet in E flat (2).
(15)

WEBER: Overture 'Oberon' (3); Overture 'Der Freischutz'
(10) (3); Concertante for Clarinet (2).

WARLOCK: Capriol Suite (9).
(9)

DVORAK: 'New World' Symphony (4); Symphony No.8 in G (3).
(8)

FRANCK: Symphonic Variations (4).
(8)

ROWLEY: Miniature Piano Concerto (6).
(7)

BIZET: L'Arlesienne (3).
(6)

BORODIN: Polovtsian Dances (4).
(6)

WALTON: Crown Imperial (6)
(6)

WEINBERGER: Polka from 'Schwanda the Bagpiper' (6).
(6)

CIMAROSA: Overture 'Impresario' (2).
(5)

DELIUS: First Cuckoo (2).
(5)

HOLST: St.Paul's Suite (2).
(5)

RACHMANINOV: Piano Concerto No.2 in C minor (5).
(5)

RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: Various.
(5)

BERLIOZ: Hungarian March (4).
(4)

CHOPIN: Ballades. (4)
(4)

DELIBES: Prelude and Mazurka from 'Coppelia' (2).
(4)

FAURE: Elegie for Cello and Orchestra (2).
(4)

ROSSINI: Overture 'Silken Ladder' (2); Soirees Musicales (2).
(4)

TCHAIKOVSKY: Orchestral works.
(4)

WAGNER: Prelude to Act.3 from 'Lohengrin' (2).
(4)

(Only works given more than one performance have been listed).

TABLE 12:

Music Schools built or substantially extended after the Second World War.

1950s:

Aldenham; Chigwell; Monkton Combe; Portsmouth.

1960s:

Abingdon (67); Allhallows; Bedales; Bedford;
Blundells (67); Bradfield (64); Brentwood (61); Colfe's;
Cranleigh (69); Dame Allan's (63); Eltham (63);
Felsted (65); Glenalmond; Highgate (69);Kelvinside;
King Edward's Bath (61); King Edward's Witley;
King's Worcester (64); Lancing (66); Nottingham High (60);
Oakham (66); Rendcomb (67); St.Edmund's Canterbury (61);
St.Edward's Oxford (63); St.George's Weybridge;
St.John's Leatherhead (68); St.Paul's (68); Trent (64);
Truro; Warwick.

1970s:

Ardingly; Bancrofts; Bangor; Bedford Modern (74);
Birkenhead; Canford (74); Cheltenham (76);
Christ's Hospital; Daniel Stewart's; Durham;
Eastbourne (79); Ellesmere (76); Exeter (75);
Forest (79); George Watson's; Giggleswick (77); Gresham's;
Haberdashers' Aske's; Haileybury (79); Hampton (78);
Hurspierpoint; Kent; King William's;
King's Wimbledon (78); King's Bruton (79); King's Chester;
King's Rochester; Leighton Park (72); Ley's;
Liverpool College; Llandovery; Magdalen (73);
Manchester Grammar; Marlborough; Merchiston Castle (78);
The Oratory; Queen Elizabeth Wakefield (79);
Queen Elizabeth Hospital; St.Bees (74); St.Dunstan's (72);
Sherborne (71); Solihull; Stamford (77); Tetenhall (74);
University College (74); Victoria (77);
Wellingborough (72); Wells Cathedral (74); Woodbridge;
Wrekin (79).

1980s:

Arnold (81); Bishop's Stortford (88); Charterhouse (84);
Christ College Brecon (81); City of London (86);
Coleraine; Dauntsey's; Framlingham (81); Radley (86);
Rydal (84); Ryde; Sutton Valance (80); Wycliffe (80).

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